

A SUMMARY
OF
UNIVERSAL HISTORY;
IN NINE VOLUMES.

EXHIBITING
THE RISE, DECLINE, AND REVOLUTIONS OF THE
DIFFERENT NATIONS OF THE WORLD,
FROM THE CREATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF
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A SUMMARY

OF

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

AFTER the first tumult, inseparable from the changes in an empire, Otho placed himself on the throne with all the tranquillity of a man taking possession of his lawful inheritance, borne in triumph by the soldiers, congratulated by the people, and applauded by the senate. But from that time a rival appeared—the revolt of Vitellius had been concealed from Galba: a revolt which the emperor had been more astonished at, as he thought him little fitted for any enterprise of importance. Galba, when at his accession to the throne he gave him the command of the lower-Germany, openly declared he was induced to it neither by esteem for his person, or trust in his ability; but because he believed great eaters were not dangerous; and that Germany appeared to him a country perfectly well fitted

A.D. 69.

to fatten a man with an appetite such as that of Vitellius.

He was drawn from the torpor of the table by the chief of a legion, Valens; who, discontented with Galba, induced him to profit by the attachment of the soldiery. This attachment he had gained by acts of justice and benevolence. Another commander of a legion, by name Cæcina, brought the army of the higher Germany, already irritated against Galba, to declare in his favour; and Vitellius found himself emperor, with scarcely any interference of his own. As in all revolutions blood must be spilt, in this Vitellius yielded the lives of various persons to the anger of his soldiers, whilst he secured others from their fury by imprisoning them. He laid the plan of his war, which was to fall on Italy, with his two generals. Valens, with forty thousand men from the army of the lower Germany, agreed to pass the Alps by the road since called the *Great St. Bernard*; and Cæcina, with thirty thousand from the higher Germany, by Mount Cenis: these troops were the flower of the Roman armies. From the north of the empire they marched over the two Gauls, through rivers of blood, diffusing terror wherever they passed. Judging those who were neutral to be enemies, they compelled them to follow their standards, and, by that good fortune which always accompanied Vitellius, on descending

from the Alps, they found a body of cavalry, who, having followed their example of revolt, secured them the plains watered by the Po, and the passage of that river.

Otho, on his part, remained not idle. His manners, gentle and yielding, made him beloved. Without being guilty of the excesses of Nero, his taste for pleasure recalled some gaiety to Rome. It is remarked, that, faithful to his first attachments, he preferred those amongst the friends of his youth who deserved elevation; and raised again the statues of his wife Poppæa, overthrown after the death of her murderer. All the south of the empire, and almost all Italy, were on his side. With such succours he found, therefore, no difficulty in raising an army; but, putting himself at its head, hastened to meet his enemies. Vitellius, at a distance, followed his generals with a considerable *corps de reserve*. The two rivals wrote each other polite letters, mutually proposed to resign the empire with certain indemnifications and rewards, afterwards to divide it, and at last sent to each other threats, insults, and assassins.

Those jealousies, hatreds, and personal interests, which are the food of factions, secured to each some partizans in the followers of his adversary: a disagreement which was most observable at Rome. This city was agitated by a factious turbulence, which every trifle convert-

ed into frenzy. The tribune Crispinus being charged with arming a cohort from Ostia, took the precaution of opening the magazines, and loading the carriages, early in the night. The time, the appearance of arms, raised suspicions in the soldiers; and, suddenly seized with rage, they accused their leaders of evil designs. The seditious began by murdering the tribune, and, mounted on horseback with drawn swords, marched to the emperor's palace, who entertained that night a great number of persons of both sexes, amongst whom were eighty senators. The guests, not knowing whether to fly or stay, whether it was public commotion or private treachery, cast their eyes on Otho, who was not less alarmed than themselves. He dispatched the chiefs of the pretorian cohorts to appease the tumult, and dismissed the company. Every one fled, and concealed himself as he could. The enraged multitude entered the hall prepared for the feast, and demanded the emperor. He mounted on a seat, spoke to and conjured them, and, by the force of prayers and tears, induced them to return to the camp.

The next day the houses appeared shut, and the people dejected, as in a town newly taken; few were to be seen in the streets, and the soldiers hung their heads more through shame than repentance. The chiefs of the cohorts harangued them severally by companies, in terms more or

less gentle, according to their different characters: their eloquence had been useless had it not been supported by the promise of a large gratification to each soldier. Otho came to the camp. The soldiers, altered by the attraction of money, surrounded him; and themselves required the punishment of the guilty. The emperor made a merit of that indulgence, which it would, perhaps, have been dangerous not to have granted, and punished two only from amongst them.

Though the calm seemed restored to the city, what had passed gave rise to apprehension that the proscriptions of Sylla and Augustus were returning.—On one side it was necessary to please Otho; on the other, not to disoblige Vitellius, who had a powerful party. Soldiers were placed every where; they entered the houses in disguise, and then learned who were most considerable by their nobility or their wealth. It was suspected, and with reason, that amongst them were some of the soldiers of the army of Vitellius come to reconnoitre those of their own party. Every man was alarmed, and scarcely believed himself secure in the bosom of his family and the inmost recesses of his house.—But in public every caution was redoubled by fear; there every one composed his countenance and his manners according to the event; attentive to shew neither indifference nor ap-

prehenſion when good or bad news arrived: moſt of all was it difficult in the ſenate not to ſhew too much freedom or too much ſelf circumſpection. The ſenators, without paſſing any decree againſt Vitellius, were contented to mingle reproaches with their expreſſions concerning him, but ſuch as had in them nothing very odious. The moſt prudent had even the precaution to pronounce theſe reproaches only when, many ſpeaking at once, they might not be heard, and might yet be able to boaſt of their boldneſs ſhould the neceſſity for it ever arrive.

This equivocal diſpoſition gave uneaſineſs to Otho. He confined Dolabella in the town of Aquinum, and had him narrowly watched; not that he had any thing to reproach him with, but his illuſtrious name, and the crime of being nearly related to Galba, gave ſufficient umbrage. He took the greater part of the magiſtrates, and thoſe of conſular dignity, with him to the army, without giving them any employment, on the ſole pretence of accompanying him. Amongſt theſe, Lucius, the brother of Vitellius, was on the ſame footing with the others, and looked upon neither more nor leſs favourably than the reſt. The mother of Vitellius, his wife, and children, were at Rome. Otho, whiſt there, ſhewed them every poſſible attention,

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and at his departure thence, recommended them to his friends.

To all reflecting minds the state of Rome was alarming.—The leaders of the senate, weakened by age, or rendered degenerate by a long peace; the nobility, become indolent, had lost all taste for arms; the knights, without experience, appeared more fearful from their endeavours to hide their fear. Some, cowards in their hearts, affected to appear brave, whilst they shone by the splendour of their arms, or mounted on their well-decorated and mettlesome horses; others drove away thought by giving themselves up to good cheer or pleasure. The ignorant multitude fed on vain hopes, and debtors in the general trouble and confusion found their security;—but all soon felt the evils of war, by the dearth of provisions and scarcity of money, which was consumed in the sustenance and pay of the armies.

After various marches and countermarches the competitors came in sight of each other, near the village of Bedriacum, between Cremona and Verona. The army of Vitellius, commanded by Valens and Cæcina, felt the necessity of an immediate battle; for it began to want provisions, which it could no longer draw from the country which it had desolated. Otho's, on the contrary, abounded in provision of all kinds. He possessed Italy, and, what was still more,

Rome, which beside provisions furnished him with gold;—in civil wars more powerful than the sword. It is not known why, with all these advantages, Otho persisted, in contradiction to the opinion of his best generals, to precipitate the fight; still less can the reasons be surmised which induced him to remain at a distance from the field of action. It is remarkable, that this battle, which was to decide the fate of two emperors, took place without either being present in it.

It was not on that account the less eager or bloody; the new-raised troops shewed courage equal to the veterans, and fought with equal valour. But as one side must conquer, the troops of Otho, after an obstinate resistance, were worsted; and they retired to their camp as undetermined as to its defence, as the conquerors were on its attack. This indecision brought on a parly, the result of which was the surrender of Otho's troops. They abandoned their camp, and the two armies being joined, the weeping victors embraced the vanquished; all with mingled joy and sorrow cursed the miseries of civil war, whilst closing the wounds of a parent or a brother; scarce one but mourned some friend slain on that fatal day. The same funeral honours were indifferently paid to the heads of both parties; all then submitted to Vitellius, and took to him the oath of fidelity.

Otho waited the event at a few leagues from Bedriacum, and no sooner learnt it than he declared the resolution he had taken of putting an end to his life. He would have lost it more gloriously at the head of his army, when his presence would besides have encouraged his troops, and perhaps led them on to victory; but had he died on the field of battle, we should have been ignorant of these sentiments which do honour to his memory.—All those who escaped the battle had not fled to the camp; several legions, sufficient to form a good army, hastened to join their emperor in his retreat. The first soldiers who learned his resolution of dying, believing it the effect only of despair, joined in engaging him to live by promising him the most inviolable fidelity; and to prove the sincerity of their oath, two of them killed themselves in his presence. “Let this,” said one of them as he struck the blow, “be a proof to thee, O Cæsar, of our attachment; there is not one man amongst us but is willing to do as much for your service.” “Alas!” exclaimed the tender Otho, “men so brave and so affectionate, shall no longer be exposed to new dangers through affection to me.”

His captain of the guard conjuring him not to desert so many gallant followers, said, “There is more greatness of soul in bearing misfortunes, than in withdrawing from them by

“ death.” But Otho had determined on the sacrifice of his life to the public tranquillity.— He explained his motives to his soldiers, whose prayers and tears affected him ; he called them together, and said, “ This day, my companions, “ which gives me such tender proofs of your affection, is preferable in my eyes to that on “ which you hailed me emperor. I conjure you, “ then, not to refuse me the satisfaction of sacrificing my life for the preservation of so many “ worthy people.” He then explained to them, that he was not ignorant of his resources, which were really great, and that he knew he should receive from all parts considerable forces ; “ but, “ alas !” added he, “ ’tis not against Pyrrhus, “ against Hannibal, or the Gauls, that we fight ; “ it is against our own countrymen. Rome is “ at variance with herself ; and whether victory “ declares for me or against me, the blood of “ Italy must be spilt ; the greater the success, the “ greater reproaches will the conqueror have to “ make himself, and the more tears to shed. “ When I represent to myself the flower of the “ Roman youth, and so many noble armies destroyed, the idea is more bitter to me than death ! “ —Deign then to survive me, and suffer me to “ carry to the tomb the satisfaction of having “ seen you ready to sacrifice yourselves for me ; “ I will give the example of having but once “ armed the Romans against each other in my

“ cause, and may posterity by this circumstance
“ judge of Otho. Vitellius will meet again his
“ brother, his children, and his wife. Be
“ assured that I voluntarily prefer death to the
“ throne, since all the good I could ever do the
“ republic in war, could not equal the ad-
“ vantage which the execution of my present
“ design will procure to it. My death alone
“ can be the seal of a durable peace, and se-
“ cure Italy from a second day, mournful as the
“ present.”

Having uttered these words, he conjured those about him to hasten to the conqueror. He supplicated the old, he commanded the young, he carried his attention so far as to provide chariots and boats for those who were to leave him. He distributed his money and jewels, and burnt such letters and memorials as might prove injurious to any. He wrote two letters, the one to his sister, the other to Messalina, formerly the wife of Nero, and whom he intended to espouse, and to her he recommended his ashes. A tumult arising in the camp, he went out to appease it, and returning tranquilly, took a glass of cold water; he then sent for two daggers, and having tried them, put one under his bolster, and was found next day dead by a single stroke. His death was no sooner made known, than the soldiers uttered loud cries of grief. His funeral, according to his desire, was hastened, lest his

head should be cut off as a trophy. His officers of the guard bore him weeping to the pile, whilst the soldiers crowded round to kiss his hands and his wounds; many killed themselves by his funeral pile, and even at the camp at Bedriacum; a simple monument was raised to him with this inscription only—"To the memory of Marcus Otho."—He was but thirty-seven years old, and had reigned three months.

Had not Vitellius been seconded by generals of ability, and those whose interest it was to support him, his reign had been probably no longer than that of Otho. After the death of the latter, the senate immediately acknowledged the governor of the higher Germany, and sent to him an embassy. It also granted pardons to those Germanic legions who had indulged themselves in the greatest excesses after the victory; pillaging even the temples, and, in confederacy with such robbers as populous countries always supply, despoiled the houses of the rich which they procured to be pointed out to them. The generals Cæcina and Valens retiring to Lyons, left their armies in the midst of Italy, where, under indulgent governors, they lived as in a conquered country. There they presented the conquered generals to Vitellius, who did not treat them with the generosity they would undoubtedly have met with from Otho. He shewed mercy to a few only, and put the

unfortunate Dolabella to death; a victim to his birth and his merit. During his journey, Vitellius justified Galba's observation on his gluttony. The roads of the two seas were continually covered with purveyors employed in collecting for him what every country produced of greatest delicacy, and the towns he passed through ruined themselves in feasts, as the best means of paying their court to the new prince.

The troops which had conquered for him, or fought against him, being now united under the same standard, became a body as formidable as troublesome to conduct. Sometimes disagreeing, at others agreeing too well, their union was as much to be feared as their division. The most troublesome legions were separated, and some sent to the frontiers of the empire, which held continual war with the neighbouring people, and others into the opulent cities to subdue them by inactivity. The emperor disbanded several legions both new-raised and veterans, who having no fixed abode, became wanderers and vagabonds.

From Cremona, through which he passed, Vitellius went to the field of Bedriacum, which forty days before had been the theatre of victory to his generals; the horrid objects of the earth stained with blood, and mangled limbs infecting the air with their exhalations, were little calculated to raise or to gratify curiosity; but to some

of those near Vitellius, who wished to draw him from the stench, he answered, "The smell of a dead enemy is good, but that of a dead citizen yet better." Thus friends and enemies had equal reason to fear a man incapable of any feeling but for his pleasures.

Bands of eunuchs and comedians, and other disgraces of the court of Nero, the perpetual object of his admiration, already swelled his train. To these he added the most excessive gluttony, which has ever been recorded; Vitellius made regularly three meals, often four, and sometimes even five, a day; he was indebted for this capability of repletion to the endowment of throwing what he had received off his stomach whenever he thought proper. All the feasts he attended cost prodigious sums, and were often at the expence of his friends, to whom he invited himself without ceremony; though they could not refuse him in the same manner. It is said that one of his courtiers gave a repast, at which the tables were covered with two thousand dishes of fish, and seven thousand of different birds, exquisite in their kind and of prodigious cost. He one day had a dish of the livers, brains, tongues, and heads, of all sorts of fish and birds of an excessive dearness; and such was his mad prodigality, by which he spent in eating in four months more than a hundred and twenty millions of livres (or seven millions sterling), that had

he reigned longer, all the riches of the empire would not have sufficed to supply his table.

Absorbed in the enjoyment of his detestable gluttony, he abandoned his affairs to a council, composed of freed men and other ministers, become as powerful now as they were under Claudius. He felt grateful to them for concealing from him the knowledge of events which might have trenched on his pleasures.— It was necessary, however, he should know that Vespasian had revolted. This general, who had been sent with three legions and a large corps of auxiliaries to subdue the Jews, had just finished his expedition. The glory arising from it, fixed the eyes of the east on him; the governor of Syria, Mucianus, had four veteran legions at his disposal, Alexander the Egyptian prefect commanded two of them. Those of Pontus, Mœsia, Cappadocia, and other provinces of the south, believing themselves equally worthy with those of the north to give a master to the empire, seemed disposed to revolt. The conciliatory spirit of Titus, son of Vespasian, united all the leaders. Notwithstanding these flattering appearances, Vespasian hesitated to take the sceptre, which seemed to present itself to his hand. He trembled for the consequences of the first step, “for,” said he, “in private quarrels, “retirement is a certain asylum; but he who “aspires to empire must reign or perish.”

Vespasian having once taken his resolution, applied himself to every thing which might make it succeed. He fixed his abode at Berytus in Phœnicia, and there collected his warmest military partizans, of whom with others he formed a council. The raising of levies, the recalling of veterans, the forging of arms, and coining money, were there decided; and for the security of the frontiers, from whence the legions were recalled, treaties were concluded with the kings of Armenia and Parthia.—The crowd drawn together by these affairs, gave to Vespasian's house the appearance of an imperial court. The plan of the campaign was there settled, by which Vespasian was to remain in Egypt, the centre of the most trusty provinces, from whence he was to send succour to Mucianus, who had the charge of advancing in Italy, which was to be reduced to want, by cutting off by sea the usual resources of corn from Alexandria.

But the slowness of famine agreed not with the energy of Primus, who commanded the legions of Asia. This man, born at Toulouse, had been deprived of his senatorial dignity by Nero, for having forged a will. Despised by Galba, forgotten by Otho, and neglected by Vitellius, he no sooner saw the public commotion, than he appeared on the scene. He was one of those men who may be said to be born revolutionary;

bold both in speech and action; a true firebrand of civil war; a great robber, but liberal; pernicious in peace, but highly useful in war. In a council held almost within sight of Italy, he maintained that delay could be useful to the enemy only. "The air, and the pleasures of Rome," said he, "have made some of the soldiers of Vitellius sick, and others languid; should you defer attacking them, their courage will return with their strength; where in the mean time shall we find provisions and money? let us penetrate at once into Italy: what I dare to advise, I am willing to execute." He said, and his opinion prevailed.

Without waiting for Mucianus, who was nominated to enter Italy when it should be time, Primus marched at the head of a chosen body, and seizing several villages, animating his soldiers by pillage and generosity, gave largely from his own stock, with the confidence of taking still more largely from that of others. During these exploits, Vitellius suffered what he deserved; his enervated troops advanced negligently toward the enemy, and his best captains, Valens and Cæcina, were on the point of betraying him. When they ought to have engaged Primus, whose best forces were not yet arrived, they idled their time in opening a negotiation with him, during which several legions went over to him. Near Cremona the

armies tried their strength, by a skirmish of cavalry, in which success was due to the valour of Primus. His soldiers fled in disorder. He stopped them, and appeared in every place where there was danger, or could be hope; and piercing with his javalin an officer flying with his standard, he tore it from his grasp, and advanced toward the enemy. His intrepidity recovered the day. The troops of Vitellius hesitating in their turn, Primus drove them before him, and followed them under the very walls of the town.

Night prevented him from pursuing further the victory of that day; but the next brought on a general battle. A son here killed his father whom he recognized whilst he breathed out his last sigh as he was despoiling him. The defeat of Vitellius's party was followed by the loss of Cremona, which was taken by assault, pillaged with the utmost inhumanity, and reduced to ashes. The fault however was not in Primus, who did every thing in his power to restrain the soldiery. But in civil wars the leaders, little obeyed, run often more risk from their own troops than from those of the enemy; a truth of which Cæcina now stood an example, whose soldiers had laden him with chains before the battle of Cremona. On the taking of the town, he fell into the hands of Primus, who, on account of their projected accommodation, treated him favourably. The other general of

Vitellius, Valens, took shipping with the intent of raising Gaul, and placing himself on a throne there, but was taken prisoner, and put to death.

The Emperor disguised in public the disastrous state of his affairs, which he would willingly have concealed from himself. On every arrival of bad news he was seized with terror, and failed not to get drunk. A bad politician, and a still worse general, his embarrassment was extreme, as well with respect to the plans of operation proposed to him for the war, as the different proposals made to him for ending it. A considerable army which ranged near the Appenines, who were capable of shutting the passage of those mountains to the enemy, eagerly called for him; he went, viewed the pass, and, terrified with the military display, or perhaps at the thoughts of the temperance he must exert there, hastened back again to Rome.

Here the wretched emperor found himself so besieged with negotiations, that he scarcely found time for two or three meals. Primus, Mucian, Varus, admiral of a fleet, in short, all the generals of Vespasian aspired to the honour of inducing Vitellius to yield the empire. He was promised a secure retreat, and money sufficient to satisfy his appetite, if he would lay down his arms and abdicate the empire: these were tempting offers, and he treated upon them with

Sabinus, then governor of Rome, and who, being the brother of Vespasian, was more capable than the rest of securing the performance of these promises; but when he appeared in the public forum to make his renunciation, his friends, probably more officious for themselves than him, engaged the people not to receive it.

Several of the senators believing the whole concluded, had already ranged themselves on the side of Sabinus; and from the dread of falling again under the power of Vitellius, they engaged Vespasian's brother to demand the execution of the treaty. By their advice Sabinus retired to the capitol. In this fortress the soldiers of Vitellius besieged him; he defended himself bravely, and the gates being forced, retired to the interior, where he barricaded himself with the statues of the gods, and whatever else he could find to defend the doors. The irritated soldiers threw their burning torches into it. The flames soon enveloped the edifice, and this monument, so dear to the Romans, and the fairest ornament of their city, was consumed. Domitian the younger, son of Vespasian, escaped in a priest's habit; but Sabinus his uncle was taken and massacred, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Vitellius to save him.

On receiving information of this, Primus marched hastily against Rome. The partisans of Vitellius waited him there with firmness. They

fought at the gates, and afterwards in the streets, whilst the people applauded first one party, and then the other, as at a public shew. When any one had the cowardice to fly or conceal themselves, these spectators demanded with loud cries that they should be drawn forth, and put to death. Rome was at once an object of pity and ridicule; for whilst on one side appeared luxury and debauchery, on the other was murder and bloodshed. It seemed an epitome of cruelty and dissoluteness, where one half of the town appeared mad, and the other furious. At length the foldiers of Primus gained the ascendancy. They pursued the pretorian guards to their camp; the bravest made a courageous resistance, but overcome by numbers, they were all slain with their faces turned toward the enemy.

Vitellius, whilst they were fighting for him, shut himself up in a litter, and was carried to his wife's palace, from whence he proposed going to Terracina, where his brother, named also Vitellius, had assembled an army. This was the wisest measure he could have taken; but fear, whose nature it is to unsettle the mind, induced him to return to his palace. On entering it, he found only a vast solitude; even the lowest of his officers avoided meeting him. He endeavoured to enter some of the apartments, but finding them all shut, and weary with wandering about so disgracefully, he concealed himself behind a bed in the

porter's apartments. He was discovered there, and demanded to be guarded till the arrival of Vespasian, under pretence of having things of importance to communicate to him; but, deaf to his entreaties, the soldiers led him with his hands tied behind him, his clothes torn, and a cord round his neck, without one person shewing for him the smallest compassion. On the contrary, the populace—ever insolent and enemies of the unfortunate—that populace who had a few days before entreated him to retain the empire, scoffed at his misery, and insulted him with every kind of outrage. Those who led him were even so inhuman as to prick his chin with their swords to oblige him to raise his head, and see his statues overthrown. He was dragged in this manner to the common dunghill, where his throat was cut like that of a fatted pig.

The army of Terracina came too late to his aid. Vitellius, who commanded it, was slain. The death of the two brothers terminated the war without giving peace; for the victors still pursued their enemies, and killed them wherever they found them, even at the feet of the altars. The houses of private persons were forced open, and pillaged, under pretence that some of Vitellius's party were concealed in them. The senate being assembled, named the younger Domitian, who was then at Rome, Cæsar, as if he had been the representative of his father,

They decreed to Vespasian, though absent, all the titles and privileges which had till then belonged to his predecessor; and Titus his eldest son was associated with him in the consular dignity.

Vespasian a private man, and Vespasian emperor, proved two very different persons. In the private man, amongst some praise-worthy actions, are to be remarked many deserving of censure. In the emperor, almost every virtue, and one only, but weighty, vice—the love of money. His grandfather, a native of Rieti, in the country of the Sabines, was a collector of the imposts. His father, who followed the same profession, was so moderate and just, that the contributors raised a statue to him with this inscription, “To the honest tax-gatherer.” He enriched himself by usury, a mode not then dishonourable. Vespasian was nominated in his youth a senator by Caligula, at a time when that dignity became common, afterwards a military tribune, quæstor in the provinces, ædile and prætor at Rome. He distinguished himself under Claudius in the English war; became consul, and governor of Africa, where he married a slave, who bore him two sons, Titus and Domitian.

Had he passed through these gradations by honourable means alone, this prince had been highly estimable. But he gained the favour both of the emperors and their favourites by the

most abject flattery. Amongst others, that of Caligula, to whom he paid the most servile adulation. He affected to declare himself the admirer and friend of this monster, and thanked him in full senate for the favour of having been invited to his table. The infamous Narcissus was his protector, which confers no honour on the protected. He conducted himself very ill in his African government, and drew upon himself the hatred of the people there; and on his return to Rome did not blush at using dishonourable means for his subsistence, such as mingling with the followers of ministers, and selling his credit for pecuniary reward. Twice, however, notwithstanding his courteous vigilance, he slept during the founding of Nero's lyre, and twice was nearly expiating by death his impolitic drowsiness.

He applied himself wholly, when become emperor, to restore the empire to its ancient grandeur. He respected the laws himself, and caused them to be respected by others. He provided for general and private good; prevented or punished oppression; encouraged virtue; and appeared to have no other aim but to merit and obtain the affection of his people. Even the troops which had assisted him in the acquisition of the empire, escaped not his severity when they were culpable with respect to the citizens. Luxury, and an appearance of effeminacy, were so displeasing to him in men of the military profes-

sions that he broke several officers on this account only. From the senate he deserved nothing but praise for his attentions; for he assisted in its deliberations without expecting any undue weight in its decisions. "Speak," he would say to the senators, "speak boldly your opinion; I have not called you together blindly to approve my ideas, but to receive your council, and to follow it."

Vespasian corrected the abuses which had crept into the administration of justice; displaced the bad judges, and abridged the form of process. The pleadings took place before him; his tribunal was public; and his judgments obtained almost general applause. The calamities which Rome experienced from fires and disasters, were the objects of his solicitude. He provided for the rebuilding of private houses, temples, public edifices, and the capitol. He sought out with great expense the Fasti and laws of Rome, which had before been engraved on tables of brass, now buried amongst the ruins; and, as far as he was able, supplied what were lost. Affable to all, he gave free access to his palace, the gates of which were always open, and he was seen to shed tears over those criminals whom his justice prevented him from saving from punishment. He despised all titles, and accepted with modesty, and after having well deserved it, that of father of his country. From the same virtue he laughed at those genea-

logists who endeavoured to prove him of an illustrious origin. The cynic philosopher Demetrius ventured to affront him in public, to whom Vespasian was contented with saying, "You are a true cynic." Some prejudice was endeavoured to be given him against a man who was represented as aspiring to the empire; he immediately named him to the consulate, and, smiling, said, "I hope when he obtains the sovereign authority he will remember this piece of friendship of mine." To conclude: having some reason of complaint against a man who somewhat abused the right he had acquired to the emperor's gratitude by the services he had done him, Vespasian complained of him to a common friend; but, as if he had repented the resentment, though just, which had escaped him, he concluded the conversation in these words, "However, I am but a man, and consequently little free of blame myself."

Vespasian is accused of an immoderate love of money, and of having renewed some taxes before abolished, as well as of having established new ones; one even upon urine, with which his son Titus reproached him. The father took his reproof in good part, only holding a piece of money to him to smell, he said, "The smell of money is good, my son, come from where it will." He jested in like manner with the deputies of a certain town, who informed him, that their senate had decreed to him a statue of

gold, which would cost a large sum. The emperor, holding out his hand to them, said, "Here is the base; you need only place the money for your statue on it." Had he only shewn his inclination for money in similar circumstances it had been wrong to blame him; but it is said that he gave the best governments to those whom he found to be the most able pillagers, with the view of profiting by their rapacity. "These," said he, "are sponges whom we wet when they are dry, and which, when well wetted, we can squeeze." And if it be true that he divided with his ministers, and even with his domestics, the profits of his protection, he cannot be excused.

It is true he found the empire greatly in debt; and this justice is due to him, that he always made a noble and generous use of his revenues. The public works undertaken by him were superb; his presents, numerous; and the feasts he gave, magnificent. He supported a great number of poor senators. By his care, many towns destroyed by fire or earthquakes rose more brilliant from their ruins. He repaired the public ways and aqueducts; protected arts and sciences; and was the first who gave pensions to the professors of Greek and Latin eloquence at Rome. He drew to that city by his beneficence the most famous poets, and most able workmen of the time. One of the latter, an excellent mechanist, having offered,

by machines of his invention, to transport heavy burthens at a small expense, the emperor paid him magnificently for his invention, but would not make use of it: "For," said he, "we must give the means of living to the lower classes."

Two military exploits gave lustre to the first years of Vespasian's reign:—the defeat of the revolted Batavians, under their leader Civilis; and the taking of Jerusalem. Civilis, born a Gaulish prince, and formed in the camps of the Romans, had from them learnt politics and arms. The former taught him to sow divisions amongst their legions, and the latter to beat them. He had succeeded so far as to establish an empire in Gaul; but it proved of no duration, from the want of agreement in the allied towns, and by the eager desire of each to be the seat of this empire. The league soon separated, and each individual made peace with the Romans, which soon gave these conquerors the preponderance in Gaul. Civilis also made peace, and as advantageously as circumstances would permit. Similar divisions were the ruin of the Jews, who were attacked by Titus under the command of Vespasian. The father and son triumphed together at Rome on the conquest of this nation.

It was time for them to repair to the city, where were three men little fitted to yield to each other—Mucianus, Primus, and Domitian.

Mucianus had arrived there on the day succeeding that of the death of Vitellius, endowed with unbounded power, which the emperor, who owed to him his sovereignty, had confided to him on his departure for Italy. The services which Primus had rendered Vespasian are already known, and the return he expected suffered him not willingly to see any one superior to him in the absence of the emperor. As for Domitian, stimulated by his courtiers, he looked upon all authority claimed by the others as an usurpation of his rights; but on the emperor's arrival, these lesser powers became eclipsed before him, and he associated with him in the empire his eldest son Titus, well deserving of that honour.

The reign of Vespasian passed henceforward in peace, with the exception only of some wars on the distant frontiers. Amongst those, that of England, under the conduct of the celebrated general Cornelius Agricola, is worthy of notice. He was called to this command by the public voice, which is not always mistaken, and sometimes directs the choice of those who govern. Vespasian found pleasure in yielding to it; and Agricola subdued the English even more by his virtues than his arms. To him they owed the invaluable benefit of an exact distribution of justice, and a wise government, useful to the people, and calculated to suppress out-

rages and exactions. To him also they were indebted for the example of a well-regulated household, in which was no dominion of freedmen, no insolence of subalterns: "A police," says Tacitus, "often as difficult to regulate, as the government of a province,"

In the extraordinary story of Sabinus, the usual clemency of Vespasian disappears. Born in the city of Langres in Gaul, he had taken upon him, in the time of Vitellius, the title of emperor of the Gauls; but being defeated, he took refuge in one of his country houses, to which he set fire, that it might be believed he perished in the flames. During the conflagration he concealed himself in a subterraneous retreat, which was prepared for him by two of his faithful freedmen. Sabinus suffered his funeral to be performed by his wife Empona, by whom he was tenderly beloved, without informing her of his escape, that the reality of her grief might better confirm the supposition of his death; but caused her afterwards to be informed by means of one of the freedmen that he was still living, as well as of the place where he was concealed. According to his instructions she suppressed her joy; and whilst in the day she lamented Sabinus in public, she passed a part of the night with him. At length growing bolder, she contrived, under various pretences, to spend even whole weeks with him. For nine years the se-

cret remained undivulged, during which she became a mother of two children, born and reared almost in the grave, till her more frequent absences excited curiosity. She was followed, Sabinus was discovered, and brought with his faithful wife to Rome. There she threw herself at the emperor's feet, and endeavoured to raise his pity by supplications and tears. Vespasian could not refrain weeping at this affecting object; but his emotion of pity did not prevent him from condemning herself and her husband to death. None knew the motives of a severity apparently so little necessary, and which leaves a blot on the memory of Vespasian.

Notwithstanding his good qualities, a conspiracy was raised against him, the authors of which were punished; and a man named Helvidius Priscus, a violent republican, endeavoured to provoke him by vehement declamations, and even invectives. He carried his audacity so far, as publicly to celebrate the birth-days of Brutus and Cassius, and to exhort the people to follow their steps. Vespasian punished him with exile only; but Helvidius, from the place of his banishment, persisted in spreading invectives against the emperor, on which the senate condemned him to death. Vespasian countermanded the execution; but his lenity had been foreseen, and such steps taken that the order was already fulfilled.

Vespasian died at seventy-two years of age, in the tenth year of his reign. He continued to expedite affairs, and gave audience in his last illness. Feeling himself fainting one day, he said, "If I am not mistaken, I am going to become a god." A jest which is remarkable enough, coming from a man who had wished to pass for a worker of miracles; for being at Alexandria on his first mounting the throne, he suffered the sick to be brought to him for him to heal, and he allowed it to be reported that he had restored sight to the blind. When he was near drawing his last sigh, he was heard to say, "An emperor should die standing;" and making an effort to raise himself, he expired in the arms of those who supported him. He was universally lamented.

Of ten successive emperors, he was the first who died a natural death. Cæsar was assassinated: the death of Augustus is supposed to have been hastened by Livia: Tiberius was smothered by his favourite Macronius: Caligula, killed by the officers of his guard: Claudius, poisoned by his wife Agrippina: Nero dispatched himself with a poniard: Galba was murdered by his soldiers: Otho died by his own hand: and Vitellius was executed like the commonest criminal. Vespasian was the first who died in peace, and had his son for his successor. The obsequies which Titus performed for him were magnifi-

cent. Such was the rage for shews at Rome, that they made a part even of the funeral pomp. The character and actions of the deceased were there represented; and at the funeral of Vespasian, the actor who played the part of the emperor enquired of the superintendants how much his funeral would cost; they answered him such a sum; "Give me the money," said he, "and throw me into the Tiber if you will."

Titus has been called the delight of human kind. "The gods," according to the expression of the poet, "only just shewed him to the earth." The two following traits are sufficient to make him known. He could not prevail upon himself to send any one away discontented, at least without hope, though he had it not in his power to fulfil what the excellence of his heart induced him to promise: "No one," said he, "should go sorrowful from his prince." Recollecting one evening that he had given nothing that day, "My friends," said he, "I have lost a day." His military talents, of which he gave proof in India, are well known. Similar in this to his father Vespasian, he promised not before his elevation to the throne all the virtues which he showed when he attained it; more particularly in the government of his passions, which he knew how to subjugate to his duties. It cost him much to detach himself from Berenice, the sister of Agrippa king of Ituræa; but on being informed of the

Titus, A.D.
79.

wishes of the Roman people, he sacrificed his tenderness to the majesty of his rank, and sent her back to her brother: nor did some vices which had sullied his youth ever disgrace his manners after his elevation.

He shewed an affection for his brother Domitian, of which the latter rendered himself unworthy by his mean jealousy; and proud and ungrateful as he was, he had often reconciled him to his father. No prince ever governed with more wisdom, moderation, or goodness. He confirmed without entreaty all the privileges of the towns, and abolished the law entitled *lex majestatis*, which was sometimes put in force against those who spoke ill even of the deceased emperors. "Since my predecessors are gods," said Titus, "it is their business to punish the insults they receive: as for me, if my subjects blame me wrongfully they are to be pitied; if with reason, the injustice of punishing them for speaking true would be great indeed." He carried his clemency so far as to pardon two persons convicted of conspiracy; and sending for them into his presence, said to them: "Quit so useless a design, for the sovereignty depends on a greater power than that of men, whose decrees your efforts cannot change." Imagining the mother of one of them, who lived at a distance from Rome, must be uneasy for the fate of her son, he sent a courier to her to comfort her.

The public miseries gave occasion for the exertion of Titus's benevolence. Campania suffered much from earthquakes, and an eruption of mount Vesuvius, which spread desolation in its environs. Herculaneum and Pompeii were entirely buried in the stones and ashes it threw forth, and other towns were severely injured. Famine was felt in Rome, and followed by pestilence. Titus, instead of levying new taxes, or even accepting the gifts the whole empire was willing to offer, preferred parting with his jewels, and even the ornaments of his palace; not only for the rebuilding the public edifices, but to afford the wretched sufferers every alleviation which his truly paternal tenderness could procure them. He enjoyed for two years only the pleasure of being useful to others, and died at forty-one years of age, regretting nothing of his sovereignty but the power of making mankind happy, turning as it is thought an eye of pity on his subjects condemned to fall under the government of his brother Domitian.

Domitian emperor, in nothing differed from Domitian Cæsar. He had been seen immersed from his youth in the most detestable vices; and in the interval in which he had waited for his father at Rome, with almost the whole power in his hands, had added to those vices some acts of cruelty, which rendered his reign dreaded. At first the people found themselves agreeably de-

Domitian,
81.

ceived, for he endeavoured to secure their affections by conduct worthy a great prince. He made wise laws, refused such inheritances as were offered him to the prejudice of the legal heirs; and appeared not only free from avarice, but liberal. He repaired the public buildings, adorned the capitol, and employed considerable sums in procuring copies of manuscripts to be made to furnish anew the libraries which had suffered by fire. He watched over justice and manners, and what might have inspired distrust, carried virtue to an excess, since to give himself the appearance of mildness, and exemption from all cruelty, he forbade the sacrificing of oxen, or any other animal; but he had his near relation Sabinus assassinated, because the public cryer, instead of proclaiming him consul, had by mistake proclaimed him emperor. This murder removed the mask from Domitian.

He shut himself up every day at a certain hour, in order that he might be supposed to be employed in the affairs of the empire; but he really amused himself in this interval in killing flies with a bodkin, from whence arose his chamberlain's jest, when being asked if any one was with the emperor, he answered, "Not even a fly." He wished also to be thought warlike, though he had no talents for war, neither as a general from his love of ease, or a soldier from

his fear of danger : his father, who knew him well, had refused him all military command. He had when emperor an ample field of laurels to reap, had he been willing to divide with Agricola those which he continued to gather in Britain. This general had penetrated to the extremities of that island, and the conquest of the Caledonians, a people situated opposite the Irish coast, was alone wanting to complete its reduction. The leader of this people, eloquent as brave, was named Galgacus. In the speech he made his soldiers the moment before the decisive battle with the Romans, he shewed them he was but too well acquainted with those ambitious conquerors. “ We,” said he to them, “ placed at the extremity of our isle as in a sanctuary, have not even our eyes disgraced with seeing the slavery of the Gauls. This spot is the end of the habitable world, and the last retreat of liberty. We have been till this day unknown to fame ; now behold us unveiled before her. On one hand is the enemy, on the other, the ocean. By flight we cannot escape, and let us not hope to do so by submission. The Romans,” he continued, “ are the general robbers of all lands, and the pirates of all seas. The east and west united have not been sufficient to satiate their avarice ; when rich they are misers, when poor, ambitious. To kill, to revenge, and massacre is in

“ their language to reign ; and what they call
“ peace is eternal slavery. Nature has planted
“ in all men the love of their offspring, but they
“ take from us these objects so tenderly che-
“ rished, to make them their mercenaries, and
“ the instruments of their dominion in other
“ lands. Our wives and daughters who re-
“ main are the prey of their violence, and be-
“ come in peace the victims of their detestable
“ seduction. All our possessions, under divers
“ pretences, become theirs: our money for
“ their taxes, our corn for their subsistence; and
“ our hands and bodies labour to till the earth
“ only to ensure our slavery.”

He then represented to them what they who had neither treasures nor riches to redeem them from the personal labour which the conquerors would impose on them must have to suffer from the Romans if once subdued, and that to resist their efforts they had only to remain united. “ They have,” said he, “ built their empire on
“ our dissensions, and have penetrated to the
“ ends of Britain rather by its vices than their
“ own valour.” Galgacus then represented to the Caledonians, that were the Romans once conquered, the mercenaries and forced allies whom they dragged along with them would be seen immediately to abandon them. “ After
“ this battle,” he said, “ there is no more to fear.
“ Their fortresses are unguarded ; their colo-

“ nies full of the aged ; their towns, by the oppression of the one party and disobedience of the other, ill secured. Here,” said he, pointing to his army, “ here is salvation and peace. Here,” shewing them the Romans, “ the mines we shall have to dig, the tortures, taxes, and every other attendant on the slavery we shall have to suffer. Soldiers, it is for you to end it or make it eternal : march then with the past and the future before your eyes, your ancestors and your posterity.”

Agricola's harangue to his soldiers was less animated, but better seconded by the discipline of his legions than that of Galgacus by the valour of his followers. A terrible carnage of the islanders ensued. Seeing their valour subdued by skill, the unfortunate victims uttered screams of desperation : some dragging away the wounded ; others calling back those who were lost : some burning their houses after their defeat before they quitted them ; others abandoning their first retreats, to seek such as were more secure : some in mutual consultation gathering hope, and the courage of others awakened at the sight of their wives and children ; whilst in the wildness of despair some killed them with their own hands, to rescue them from the insolence of the conquerors. Those sent on the pursuit saw only their smoking houses from far, but met no inhabitants. No sound was heard along the

vallies, a deep silence reigned every where ; till Agricola, finding they made no endeavour to rally, led back his army into the centre of the island, which he endeavoured to civilize.

Was it with a view to the happiness of these savages, who were before contented with their lot, that he endeavoured to make them adopt the Roman manners, customs, and even dress ? Were we to judge of the motive by the effect, we should say that Agricola endeavoured to effeminate them by luxuries and superfluities. He assisted them in building houses, constructing temples, and ornamenting public and other places of assembly. He had their chiefs instructed in literature, who soon learnt the vices of their masters ; grew accustomed to baths, to walking in the porticos, and the idleness of great cities. They began, as Tacitus observes, to talk of that politeness and civility, which made a part of their slavery,

Jealous of the glory of Agricola, Domitian recalled him, and received him very coldly. The conqueror of England, unwilling to give umbrage, condemned himself to a very retired life. It was not long before he fell sick ; and by the emperor's attention, in sending hourly to visit him, and enquiring attentively concerning the health of a man whom he had so much neglected before, it has been conjectured that Agricola died by poison.

A revolt took place in Africa, which ended in the total defeat of the rebels; but the war against the Dacians terminated less fortunately. Domitian himself repaired to the frontier, but saw the enemy at a distance only; and with the presumptuousness usual to the ignorant, refused reasonable conditions to their leader Decebalus: but when his generals had been beaten, he passed from one extreme to the other, and shamefully submitted to a tribute. He sent a forged letter from Decebalus to the senate, in which this prince owned himself conquered, and submitted to pay tribute. By means of this audacious falsehood, Domitian impudently triumphed over the Dacians in Rome.

No one was deceived; but no one pretended to be otherwise; and even in secret scarce dared the Romans to communicate their thoughts to each other: the emperor had re-established the law called *lex majestatis* which had been abolished by his brother, whose government and conduct he continually studied to discredit. By such tyrannic steps he got rid of the great, against whom he seemed to have sworn eternal hatred. If a man of high birth was popular, he courted the people's affection, and gave room to apprehend a civil war; if he lived retired, he was desirous of fame, by affecting to fly the world: were his manners spotless, it was some new

Brutus, who by his conduct tacitly censured that of the emperor; the ignorant and stupid concealed under that appearance some sanguinary design: the active and lively were of a restless disposition. Every citizen who was rich, was too much so for a subject; and it was sufficient to be poor to be capable of the most desperate enterprizes. Thus the prisons and places of exile became filled by suspicion, and were emptied only by the executioner.

The christians, regular in their morals, retired in their lives, united like brethren, and making a mystery of their rites and ceremonies, could not fail to attract the attention of so distrustful a tyrant; and Domitian persecuted them throughout his whole empire. His cruelty broke forth particularly against those of distinguished rank, and some even of his own family. Nor can any thing of this kind be surprizing in a man who caused himself to be called Lord and God, and altars to be raised and victims to be sacrificed to his statues. These barbarisms were united with magnificent shews and splendid festivals, which he gave the people. He advanced the secular games, which were to have taken place after a centenary revolution of the empire only; and invented the capitoline games, instituted to celebrate his virtues. They were originally intended to be renewed every five years, which took place afterward, though the

base intent of their origin was excluded, and they formed a new epocha.

A jest of this prince's is preserved, which could be invented by none but a man of his character. He invited the chief senators and knights to supper. From the gate of the palace they were conducted into an apartment hung with black, where every thing seemed to portend death: by the glimmering of the lamps they perceived as many coffins as there were persons, with the name of each inscribed in large characters. A number of naked men, whose skins were blackened, carrying a sword in one hand and a flambeau in the other, then entered the room, and danced round them in menacing attitudes; when at the moment that their fear was at the height, a messenger from the gracious emperor comes to inform them that they may retire. It is not said whether he enjoyed the pleasure of this sight, but it may be conjectured he was not a man who would willingly deprive himself of it.

Domitian was perhaps desirous to make others feel the terrors he himself underwent. Every thing gave him offence, and he believed himself incessantly surrounded with assassins. He had the gallery he usually walked in crusted over with a stone which reflected objects like a mirror, that he might see those who should design to attack him from behind. Many other

precautions shew his dread. He had a fixed idea, no one knows why, of a particular day which he dreaded more than any other, and even of the hour that was to be fatal to him; yet there was no premeditated design against him, and a trifling chance caused his death.

A child whom he had in his chamber to amuse him with teaching it to talk, saw a paper drop from behind his pillow whilst he was asleep, which he took up and carried away as a plaything. The wife of Domitian, the empress Domitia, meeting the child, took the paper from his hand without design, and reading it was astonished to find it a list of proscribed persons, with her own name at the head. The persons whom it pointed out being hastily assembled, found there was no safety for them but in the tyrant's death. It was immediately concluded on, for not a moment was to be lost, since the emperor might miss the paper. A freed man, Stephanus by name, steward to the empress, strong and robust, took upon himself to strike the blow: he was introduced under some pretence to the chamber of Domitian, and presented him a paper, which whilst he read with attention, Stephanus stabbed him in the belly with a poniard. He struggled, and the rest came in and ended him. With equal quickness his statues were overthrown in the cities, his images trodden under foot, and his

name effaced from the magnificent monuments he had caused to be erected. Nothing was left remaining but what could not lessen the opprobrium due to his memory. He lived forty-four years, of which he reigned fifteen, and was the last of those emperors who have been called the *twelve* Cæsars: amongst whom, to the disgrace of humanity, two only were good, Vespasian and Titus, and these two were the only ones who died a natural death.

Under Domitian appeared an extraordinary man, Apollonius, usually styled Thyaneus, from his being of the town of Thyana in Cappadocia. At fourteen he was acquainted with the doctrine of the metempsychosis and other dogmas of the Pythagorean philosophy. At sixteen he professed to practise its mortifications, abstaining from wine and animal food of all kinds, going barefoot, suffering his hair to grow, and wearing linen apparel only, that he might be indebted for nothing to animals. In a temple of Æsculapius he attained the knowledge of diseases and their cure. Proud of his virtue, he censured with bitterness the vices of mankind, yet he has not escaped the suspicions of being too much attached to his disciples. Many of them accompanied him in his travels through Ethiopia, Egypt, Greece; to the brachmans of India and the magi of Persia: he boasted that he understood the languages of all these nations. Passing

through Babylon, he learned from the Chaldeans to explain the oracles delivered by the singing of birds; and seemed to traverse the world, to bear away the follies of each particular country.

Apollonius, engaged in other things beside philosophy, and the intrigues of a court, appeared not beneath his attention. He was acquainted with the conspiracies against Nero and Domitian, and encouraged the accomplices. Vespasian consulted him, and Apollonius predicted for Vespasian. Various miracles have been attributed to him, such as having disappeared from before Domitian, whose anger he feared, and having raised a girl from the dead; however, authors say, it was believed she was not perfectly dead: but the most celebrated of these miracles is his revelation of the death of Domitian, which is thus related.—The prophet was haranguing to a numerous audience at Ephesus, when suddenly his voice faltered as if struck with apprehension. He continued his discourse, though still weakly, and as if attentive to something else: on a sudden he stopt, ceased to speak, and casting his eyes down, after a moment's pause, cried aloud: "Courage, brave Stephanus, courage, strike the tyrant!" All present stood motionless with amazement; Apollonius then resumed: "Rejoice, for the tyrant is dead, he has this moment expired." On examining into circumstances and dates, it appears that these words were

pronounced the very day and hour, in which Domitian received from Stephanus the mortal blow.

Judging of Apollonius by his manners, his intrigues, and his vanity; and examining the memorials of his life with attention to the character of Damis, who has collected them, and who was extremely credulous and entirely devoted to his master; as well as on reflecting on the whole texture of his history transmitted by Philostratus, who collected it long after the event, with an intention of making a wonderful man of his hero; observing, in short, the erroneous dates, false descriptions, and faults of all kinds, with which this work abounds, we cannot but acknowledge the whole to be a tissue of fables and falsehoods, which never has had and never can have any authority, but with those who would wish to weaken the conviction of the most sacred truths, by drawing a parallel between them and the illusions of falsehood.

No sooner was the death of Domitian made Nerva, 96. public, than Nerva was named to the purple by the senate, the people, and the army. Antoninus, his ancient friend, congratulating him in the senate, said he rejoiced less for him at his advancement to the throne than he did for the people, whose happiness he was on the point of causing; and at the same time addressed to him that remarkable prediction which other princes

have found true, that his elevation would expose him to the hatred of friends and enemies: "particularly," said he, "to that of the former, who will not fail to hate you as soon as you shall refuse a single favour *they* shall ask you."

Nerva had passed through the offices of prætor and consul. He cultivated letters and was distinguished for his talent for poetry. When raised to the sovereign authority, he united liberty with absolute power, and under his government the Romans tasted the sweets of the one without feeling the inconveniences of the other. He began by liberating the prisoners of state from their irons, and recalling the exiled; yet he punished informers even more severely than Titus who detested them had done, and by the same edict forbad all prosecution for offending against the *lex majestatis*. The christians enjoyed some respite, and he engaged himself by an oath, which he fulfilled, to put no senator to death. By his orders the proprietors of effects taken from them when in prison or in exile, came even into the palace to take what was their due. He diminished the imposts, forbad the erecting of all gold or silver statues to him, and retrenched all superfluous expenditure.

That has been attributed to his generosity, which was perhaps but the result of policy; he purchased lands at his private expence, which

he ordered to be divided amongst the poor of Rome. Some have thought he took this means of discharging from the capital the populace whom their idleness rendered always dangerous. For this end, he sold a considerable part of his gold and silver plate, and furniture, and even his houses and gardens, which he converted into divisible lands; nor was he difficult as to the price, willing that both buyers and sellers should equally make their profit by him.

A private person, who had found a considerable treasure in his house, coming to inform the emperor, and receive his orders respecting it: "*Use it*," said the prince; but the man fearing the search of the officers of the exchequer, represented to him that the amount was too great for a man in his station; "Well then," answered the prince, "*abuse it*." No blame has attached to this good emperor but that of a little too much indulgence for the wicked; he admitted Veiento to his table, a man of consular dignity, but who had rendered himself odious, in the time of Domitian, by his informations. At a repast where he was, the conversation happening to turn on a famous informer named Catullus, who lived under that emperor; "What," said Nerva, "would Catullus do now?" One of the guests, named Mauricus, answered bluntly, "I know what he would do, he would be at table with us."

Notwithstanding the goodness of this prince—and, perhaps, even in consequence of it—the pretorian guards raised some disturbance in the city, under pretence of avenging the death of Domitian. They surrounded Nerva in his palace, calling aloud for the execution of those who had massacred the emperor; but Nerva, who shewed on this occasion a becoming firmness, stretching out his neck to the enraged soldiery, protested he would sooner perish than give up those who had procured him the empire: he was, however, constrained to abandon them, and even to bestow marks of his approbation on their assassins. This violence induced him to take a colleague, whose vigour might secure him from such attempts, and assist him to support the burden of empire. Though he had relatives, his choice fell on Trajan, the most able man he was acquainted with. Nerva died a short time afterwards, less regretted in the provinces than at Rome, from the advantage taken of his lenity by the governors to despoil the people: so difficult is it to do good. He lived seventy years, and reigned only sixteen months.

Trajan, 98.

When Trajan took the reins of empire he was but forty-two years old, an age equally removed from the temerity of youth, and the indolence of advanced age. He was born in Spain, of a family more ancient than illustrious, and passed through all the military gradations

to the rank of general, and commanded the Germanic legions. On Nerva's associating him in the empire, he learned almost at the same time his adoption and the death of his benefactor. His wife Pompeia Plotina was worthy of him: as she walked up the steps of the palace at Rome, she said aloud, turning toward the people—"I hope to come out from hence as I enter." And her conduct was always irreproachable.

Trajan was of a robust make, and accustomed to fatigue; his air was noble, and his manners engaging: brought up in camps from his childhood, he had not the advantages of study; but he favoured the learned, and encouraged others to acquire that in which he was himself deficient. He was, without doubt, the greatest commander of his time, and comparable to the most illustrious generals of antiquity; vigilant and indefatigable, he marched on foot even when emperor, at the head of his troops, and in that manner passed over vast tracts of country, without using car or horse: there was little difference in his dress and food and that of the commonest soldiers. He performed the military exercises with them, assisted them when sick, never entered his own tent till he had visited the others, and was always the last who went to rest. He knew all the old soldiers, whom he addressed by their names, and recollected all

their great actions, which he failed not to praise, though he still maintained a strict discipline.

When he mounted the throne, he publicly declared he believed himself not less obliged to the observation of the laws than the lowest citizen. Other emperors had held the same language; but what Trajan promised to be he was: he seemed only to retain his rank to prevent anarchy: and whenever his authority or prerogatives were in opposition with the interest of the people, he diminished them. Convinced that pride conciliates neither affection or esteem, and that condescension can be well allied to dignity, he lived with his people, not like a monarch with his subjects, but as a father with his children. His palace was open to people of all denominations; he listened with patience, corrected with gentleness, and, like Titus, wished no one to go discontented from his presence. In private as in public life, he was exempt from all artifice, and looked upon subtlety and cunning in affairs as the tricks of mock capacity and wisdom. No one was ever condemned on suspicion, however apparently well-founded, in his reign. "It is better," he said, "a thousand criminals should escape, than to have to reproach one's self with the death of one innocent person." His words on presenting the sword to a pretorian prefect are commemorated as the effusion of a pure and noble soul: "Make

“ use of it,” said he, “ *for* me if I do my duty ;
“ if I do it not, *against* me.”

Those historians who have sought for vices in Trajan, have found only defects. He perhaps loved the table too well, indulged in wine, and sometimes yielded to idleness; the latter of which charge applied to his writing the greater part of his letters by a secretary. He willingly gave in to pleasure, but never to the neglect of public affairs. It is with greater justice that a man of so gentle a disposition is blamed for permitting the persecution of the christians. Had he only suffered the usual sacrifices to his statues, and the people's swearing by his life and his eternity, he might stand excused as yielding only to the customs established by his predecessors ; but it would be difficult to exculpate him from excessive vanity if he listened in full senate to the praises bestowed on him to his face by Pliny, in a panegyric which lasted several hours :—How support for so long a time a direct eulogium? It is to be wished, for the honour of Trajan, that the panegyrist had addressed himself to the statue, and not the person there present. The senate gave him the surname of *Optimus*, or Best. It is found inscribed on his medals, and on the numerous edifices this prince caused to be rebuilt or constructed under him. This affectation procured him the sur-

name of *Parius* (pellitory); a plant which takes its name from its nature of clinging to walls.

Trajan had a favourite, or rather minister, Licinius Sura, who was of the greatest use to him in the administration of affairs; and had, indeed, induced Nerva to adopt him. The emperor repayed this service by the most perfect confidence in him, from whence arose an excessive jealousy amongst the courtiers, who harassed the emperor with accusations against Sura, whom they even charged with the design of assassinating him. Tired with these accusations, Trajan went without invitation to sup with this minister, sent away his own attendants, and called for Sura's surgeon to apply some remedy to his eyes. He was then shaved by his barber; and, after bathing, sat down to his table without the least distrust. The next day he said to those who were accustomed to speak to him of Sejanus: "If he had any design to kill me, he would have done it yesterday."

Under Trajan, the warlike spirit of the Roman legions was reanimated. He led them himself against the Dacians, and triumphed twice over Decabalus, who had imposed a tribute on Domitian. The same desire of glory carried him into Asia, where he subdued nations whose names were before unknown at Rome: he made a point of over-running the countries conquered by Alex-

ander, and carrying his victories even beyond them. Like the conqueror of Asia, he conceived great projects ; and if he founded not, he repaired many cities. The earthquakes, which were very frequent in his reign, gave him but too frequent opportunity to exert his taste for building. The Euphrates would then have been united to the Tigris, had it not been apprehended that one of these rivers, higher than the other, might rush with a rapidity not to be restrained, and convert a vast country into a lake by its waters.

Though from the time he began his warlike exploits he inhabited Rome and Italy by intervals only, and they even short ones, he did not the less attend to the embellishment of this part of his empire. Through the midst of several barbarous nations he caused a road to be made from the Pontus Euxinus, or Black Sea, to Gaul. “ The god of the Danube,” says a poet, “ ashamed of seeing his waters confined by a “ bridge, hid his head among the reeds.” Trajan founded likewise several libraries, raised a theatre in the Campus Martius, enlarged the circus, caused clear and wholesome waters to pour through the public squares ; and levelling an irregular spot, founded the square which bore his name, of which the sole remaining monument of its taste and magnificence, the Trajan column, teaches us to regret what we have lost.

Beneath this column Trajan was interred.

Others say, that the ashes of this great man were contained in a golden apple held by a statue which surmounted it. He was carried off by a flux in a few days at Selinus in Cilicia, at sixty-eight years of age, after a reign of nineteen and a half. By a reverse of fortune, which contributed not a little to his death, almost all his conquests in Asia, from which he had hoped a crown of immortal glory, had already eluded his grasp; whilst christianity, which he wished to destroy, continued to triumph and is preserved.

Adrian, 117.

The intentions of Trajan with regard to a successor are not certainly known: some authors say he meant to name ten persons of those whom he thought most worthy of the empire to the senate, that from amongst them they might choose one; others believe that he hesitated between three men; the one an able civilian, the second a good general, and the third honoured for his virtues, by his particular esteem. Be this as it will, it passed for certain, that at the moment of his death he adopted Adrian, a Spaniard like himself, son of his first cousin, and husband to Julia Sabina his grand-niece. This marriage had been contracted by the interference of the empress Plotina, who greatly loved Adrian, and to whom Trajan rather gave his consent than his approbation. He never shewed any mark of distinction to either of them,

whose union was rather the effect of policy than inclination, as was apparent from the cold manner in which they lived together ; as far from conjugal tenderness on the one side as on the other.

If certain dark rumours may be believed, Plotina concealed the death of her husband a few days, during which time she took her measures with Tatianus, a Spaniard, and formerly tutor to Adrian ; sent for this prince, then absent at some distance, and placed a man in Trajan's bed, who imitating the voice of the dying emperor, adopted him as his successor. If there is no flattery in the account of cotemporary historians, Adrian was a prodigy. His memory served him at all times so exactly, that he could recal, without confusion, not only the names of his present soldiers, but of those who had served long since under him ; if he took up a book and read it, he knew it by heart : and, trained in almost every science, he was the most eloquent orator, and greatest poet of his time ; he could paint, engrave, sing, and play on all instruments with a superiority which surprized the greatest masters. Beside cultivating philosophy and mathematics with success, he applied himself to the study of medicine, and the knowledge and properties of herbs and metals. He was observed to dictate to several secretaries at once, and to

regulate affairs of importance at the same audience with several ministers.

Adrian honoured men of letters and the learned with his particular protection; he reckoned amongst his pleasures that of employing the talents of his poets in extempore verses. Delicate in expression, he was fond of hearing his remarks adopted. Having censured one day an expression of Favorinus, which that grammarian might have defended by various authorities; his friends expressing their surprize that he did not: "Do you think," said he, "I will dispute a literary question with one who has thirty legions at his command?"

The contradictions observable in the conduct of Adrian at the beginning of his reign are attributed to the influence of two different ministers. His tutor, Tatianus, a harsh and severe Spaniard, advised him to some acts of cruelty, particularly the getting rid of some senators, on suspicion only; which he allowed himself to do: whilst Similis, a man of a gentle and conciliating nature, who had been honoured with the esteem of Trajan, gave his successor the councils of peace and indulgence, which he so often followed. To the honour of Trajanus, it must be allowed that he disgraced Tatianus, and even designed to punish him more severely. Similis voluntarily retired at seventy years of age, and

living seven more, caused the following inscription to be engraven on his tomb: "I was
" seventy-seven years on earth, out of which I
" lived seven."

Affable to all, and familiar with his friends, Adrian visited even his freedmen when sick. He avenged himself on none of those who had been his enemies before his accession. Having met one of them, he said to him, "You are
" safe now." He gave, however, too much credit to informers, many of his courtiers became the victims of his credulity, and his favour was never certain. He was liberal and magnificent, yet an exact observer of military discipline, of which he set the example in his own person. He lived like a common soldier amongst the army; walked on foot bare-headed, and in the same dress, on the frozen summits of the Alps, as in the burning deserts of Africa. His uprightness in the distribution of justice, and his respect for the senate, have been celebrated. He never undertook any thing without the advice of the senators, at whose meetings he regularly assisted, went to the consuls when he wished to advise with them, and suffered no appeal from their sentences to him. This estimable conduct was tarnished by an indiscreet curiosity to enquire into the affairs of others, the lowness of debauch, and the rage of superstition. Adrian, by giving up the conquests of Trajan, delivered himself from

a great burden. He was desirous even to end the war with the Dacians, and other nations on the frontiers, by similar cessions, had it not been represented to him that these barbarians, still advancing, would also still maintain a perpetual war, which it was better to keep at a distance. He yielded to these reasons, but he drove them not far back, remaining only on the defensive. The tranquillity he thus obtained gave him an opportunity to satisfy his inclination for travelling; he said, "That as the sun enlightens every region of the earth without confining his rays to any particular spot, an emperor ought to visit all the provinces of his empire, that he might not be necessitated to believe the reports of those who governed them." It is possible Adrian might be actuated by this laudable motive; but when we observe the eagerness and perseverance with which he pursued his journeys, without depriving him of this idea of utility, we must believe he was also powerfully led on by curiosity:—Who would not have yielded to it; able as he was to travel like an emperor, and to surprize nature in the most secret retirements, where she conceals her mysteries; and to admire her beauties, as well as to call forth all the magnificence of art? But one so elevated, sees not mankind through all the pomp of his retinue, nor can experience, like the solitary traveller, the obscure peace of mediocrity

in cities, or innocence and chearfulness in the cottage. Thus all things are balanced.

In the course of seventeen years, Adrian passed through the two Gauls, England, Spain, Germany, Mauritania, Africa, Lybia, Sicily, Achaia, Macedonia, Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, Asia, Bithynia, Thrace, Mœsia, and Dalmatia. In Gaul he visited the principal Roman fortresses, leaving every-where behind him the marks of his generosity. He remained some time in Germany, where were the flower of the Roman troops, to restore their discipline. As the Caledonians thought not proper to submit to the Roman laws, he took measures that they should not molest the English who adopted them, and circumscribed these barbarians within the limits of their country by a strong wall, the remains of which are still to be seen. These noble monuments marked his return and abode with the Gauls: a magnificent palace at Nimes for Plotina, the widow of Trajan; the amphitheatres in the same town; and the *Pont du Gard* in its neighbourhood.

He rebuilt the temple of Augustus founded by Tiberius at Tarragona in Spain, and enriched his native country with great privileges. From Rome he passed to Sicily and Greece; adorned many towns, temples, public places, and other edifices; and returning to Rome,

celebrated with magnificence the obsequies of Plotina. He built there a temple to Venus, and one to the Fortune of Rome. On these two works he wished for the approbation of Apollodorus, the architect of the forum of Trajan, whom he ought to have consulted beforehand. Less complaisant to the master of thirty legions than the grammarian before cited, the architect pronounced the roofs to be too low, and the statues too high. "When the gods and goddesses," said he, "shall chuse to rise and come out, they will not be able." But, to the disgrace of the emperor, he payed for the jest with his life.

Whilst passing from one province to the other, Adrian neglected not to observe whatever of agreeable or terrible nature offered. Fine situations, smiling prospects, the majestic rising of the sun from the highest mountains, the burstings of the storm, the treacherous calm of the sea, or the horrible grandeur of its tempests. Characters and customs escaped not his observing eye. He remarks, in one of his letters to his brother-in-law, that at Alexandria all men, even the blind, followed some trade. "Pagans," says he, "Christians, Samaritans, and Jews." He might have said all these adore but one god—their interest. He embellished, enriched, and endowed the museum of Alexandria, that noble establishment founded by the Ptolemies in their

palace ; where men of letters were magnificently lodged and maintained in different societies, according to the sect they followed, or the science they professed. To him the empire was indebted for the Perpetual Edict, a vast collection of all the laws promulgated by the prætors. He wished also to establish an uniform code throughout the empire.

Whilst he was in Egypt, Adrian lost Antinous, a young man of great beauty, whom he lamented, say authors, " like an adored wife ;" a comparison which explains the nature of his attachment. The feasts he instituted in his honour, and the temples he dedicated to him, shew with what effrontery in enlightened ages man is sometimes sullied with the most disgraceful passions. The emperor not only passed through Athens, but returned to that city, and laid down there his imperial pomp ; and took pleasure in appearing in the habit of an archon. He adorned the city with magnificent buildings, and shewed his liberality to its inhabitants.

It was nearly at the time he was thus amusing himself that his generals spread desolation over Judea, the inhabitants of which had revolted under the conduct of Barchocab, who gave himself out to be the Messiah. The impostor drew together a vast multitude, who would not be murdered with impunity. The war was for

three years disastrous to the Romans, who gained at length a complete victory. The conquerors took and razed fifty towns and castles, nine hundred and eighty-five villages, and massacred more than five hundred thousand men. The number of those who perished by famine and fire were incalculable. Almost all the surviving Jews were sold in the fairs at the same price with their horses; whilst such who could not be sold were transported into Egypt, where they perished with hunger, or under the blows of a people who held them in execration. They were forbidden to enter Jerusalem on pain of death, or even to inhabit those places where they could see it. Adrian altered the city, so that it may be said it was no longer the same. He gave it a new inclosure; put without the wall what was before within; and even deprived it of its name Jerusalem, to give it that of *Ælia Capitolina*, which it long bore. He caused a hog to be placed over the principal gate, to prevent the entrance of the Jews, who abhor this animal. But this did not deter them from going, as soon as they could, to weep over the ruins of their ancient country. This, and another against the Alani, who were subdued, are the only wars worthy of remark under the reign of Adrian. An illness obliged him to chuse a successor, and he adopted Commodus Verus, whom he survived. This prince was well informed,

and had a majestic appearance; but a feeble constitution, which he reduced still more by the excesses of debauchery. He passed whole days and nights with prostitutes. His wife asking a preference, at least; he answered her, "The name of wife is a name of honour, and not of pleasure." After his death, Adrian adopted Antoninus, on condition that he should adopt Verus, afterwards Marcus Aurelius. Adrian had lived with Sabina his wife in a manner to expect no children; and she herself boasted of having repelled his endearments. "Nothing but a monster," said she ingenuously, "could have been born of them." When she was dead, he placed her in heaven, where he loved her much better than on earth. She left behind her, her brother-in-law Salvianus, ninety years of age, and a grandson of Salvianus' aged eighteen. The emperor put them both to death for a real or pretended conspiracy. The disagreement in their ages, and the want of power resulting from it, gave an odium to their murder never to be effaced. Salvianus, when dying, called heaven to witness his innocence, and wished that Adrian, as a reward of his injustice, might desire death, and not obtain it.

The imprecation was heard; he was attacked with a disease, whose wearisomeness and pain appeared insupportable to him. He was fur-

rounded with quacks, and had recourse to magic without obtaining any relief. His temper became soured, and he condemned several senators to death. Antoninus was saved, or concealed. The emperor wished one of his slaves to put him to death, and once himself plunged the steel in his breast; but the poniard was torn from him, and he was condemned to live some time longer, notwithstanding his desire of death. He obtained it at last at the age of sixty-two years, after a reign of twenty-one. If he believed in the immortality of the soul, as may be conjectured by some verses of his which remain, he could not die after his debaucheries and cruelties, without some uneasiness as to the future. So great a builder could not forget his own tomb. He had one constructed, called the Mole of Adrian; but less resembling a tomb than a fortress, for which latter it has served, and serves at present under the name of the Castle of St. Angelo. The bridge over the Tiber was his work also. He gave way to a persecution against the christians, which was suspended by the persuasive apologies presented to him. According to one author, he even designed to raise a temple to Jesus Christ, and to place him amongst the gods. The oracles which he consulted on the occasion answered, "If the emperor permits
" the god of the christians to have temples,

“those of the other gods will be deserted.” A menace or prediction which put an end to the project.

Antoninus, called Pius, from his attachment to religion, and his respect for Adrian, who adopted him, holds one of the first ranks amongst the small number of sovereigns who have escaped the dangers of power, and made use of it only for the good of others. His family, originally of Nîmes, was ancient, but not long ennobled. He was himself born in Italy. The sweetness of his manners from his childhood endeared him to all who knew him, which happy character as he still supported, he made himself beloved in every station which he filled. The general esteem induced Adrian to adopt him, after having experienced his ability in the governments he entrusted him with, as well as his knowledge in council. History portrays him as one of the best princes who ever lived; affable, accessible, hearing with patience, magnificent without luxury, economical without avarice, more desirous to be loved than praised, neither flattering nor suffering flattery, full of equity and deference to the senate, regularly attending the public ceremonials and acts of religion, and shewing the most profound veneration for the Deity: to which general outline we will add a few particular anecdotes.

Antoninus,
138.

On his going as proconsul into Asia, he was placed at Smyrna in the house of Polemon the sophist, who was not at the time at home. The sophist returned in the middle of the night, and offended at the proconsul having intruded there in his absence, made such an uproar, that the guest was obliged to go out of the house in the night. With the arrogance of a philosopher, he had afterwards the assurance, on hearing that Antoninus was emperor, to come to Rome to salute him, whose only revenge was saying, "Let Polemon have an apartment, out of which let nobody be bold enough to drive him even by day." The liberty the sophist had taken with a proconsul, he thought he was authorized to take with a comedian, one of whom he drove from the theatre at noonday. The comedian came to complain to Antoninus, who said to him, "He drove me out at midnight, and I did not complain." Another philosopher, equally haughty, whom Antoninus had sent for to Rome from Chalcis, to be preceptor to Marcus Aurelius, took great offence at his sending for him to his palace to put his pupil into his hands; "It is the scholar's business," answered the preceptor, "to come to the master, and not the master's to attend his pupil." The emperor, smiling, said, "Does Apellonius think it a more troublesome journey to come from his house to the palace, than from Chalcis to

“Rome?” The pedagogue and his attendants would have been rightly punished for his surlyneſs had the emperor taken him ſeriously, and ſent him back again; for he was accompanied by a number of diſciples, all, according to the phraſe of the ſophiſt Lucian, Argonauts, well diſpoſed to ſeek for the golden fleece.

But Antoninus knew how to appreciate things and perſons. He received as it deſerved, and without being hurt, the ſpeech of one Omulus, at whoſe houſe he ſaw ſome magnificent porphyry pillars: “Whence had you them?” ſaid the prince. “In the houſe of another,” answered Omulus, “you muſt be deaf and dumb.” In the moſt important ſituations this gentleneſs of temper never deſerted him; he is reckoned amongſt the number of complaiſant huſbands; not that he authorized the diſorders of his wife Fauſtina, but he ſuffered, and did not puniſh them. Every thing which evinced goodneſs of heart pleaſed him, which his courtiers experienced on their blaming his ſon’s weeping at the death of him who had brought him up, as if ſuch tenderneſs were unworthy a prince. “Let him weep,” ſaid he, “and allow him to be a man; for neither philoſophy, nor imperial dignity, ought to extinguish in us the ſentiments of nature.”

Yet ſo excellent a prince ſaw a conſpiracy formed againſt him. The ſenate executed juſtice on the two leaders; but the emperor would

suffer their search to go no farther. "I am not
" desirous," said he, " to make known how
" many people hate me." He never undertook
war, when he could obtain peace, and often
said, " I had rather save the life of one citizen,
" than exterminate a thousand enemies." Thus,
during his reign, there was very little war. He
enjoyed universal esteem. All nations, distant
or neighbouring, foreign or allied, had equal
trust in his probity and sincerity; and when
there was any likelihood of a disturbance, a
letter from him was better than twenty legions.
After a reign of twenty-two years, at the age of
seventy-three, he left to Marcus Aurelius a
sceptre unstained with the blood of friends or of
enemies. He did not persecute the christians;
but, on the contrary, concluded a letter written
to a governor of a province in these words:
" Should any one in future molest the christians,
" and accuse them as such, let the accused be
" sent back absolved, whether christian or not,
" and the accuser punished according to the
" rigor of the laws."

Marcus Aurelius, whom he had adopted, was
also named Annius, with the addition of *Verus*;
the sincere Antoninus called him *Verissimus*, most
sincere: and sincerity is a virtue which is in so-
ciety the basis of every other. He was also call-
ed *Philosophus*, the philosopher in the best ac-
ception of the term, or *lover* of wisdom. It is

matter of some surprize, that he thought himself incapable of governing his passions, without inflicting on himself bodily mortifications ; and that the philosophical severities which he practised from his earliest youth injured his constitution, notwithstanding it was naturally strong. His chief studies turned on the philosophic systems of the formation of the world, with which he was perfectly acquainted ; and on ethics, of which his writings and his life were a continual precept. As his reverence for those who had inculcated these principles was extreme, he had busts of his masters in his closet, which he looked on with tenderness, and sometimes went to strew flowers over their tombs.

According to the engagement entered into by Antoninus, and ratified by Marcus Aurelius, he took Lucius Verus for his colleague, son of the Verus adopted by Adrian ; and even when emperor, continued much attached to his wife Faustina, an offspring worthy Faustina and Antoninus. On being advised to repudiate her for her irregularities, which were so notorious as to be represented on the theatre, he answered, " I must then restore the empire I received from her father as her portion also." In one part of his works he praises the openness and frankness of her character, as well as her sincerity and extreme attention to him.

The virtue of Marcus Aurelius underwent

every trial which can affect a good heart, or disturb an enlightened mind. In his reign happened plagues, famines, internal wars, revolts, general shocks of the empire, of which his great qualities alone prevented the dissolution. The Tiber overflowed its banks to an excess the most alarming, so that the difficulty of its navigation caused a famine, and the stagnation of the waters a pestilence. Several provinces were afflicted with earthquakes. Disturbances arose in Armenia, and the Parthians declared open war. Against the latter he sent his colleague Verus, to whom he had given his daughter Lucilla in marriage. He hoped for comfort from this prince, who proved on the contrary his torment, by that bad conduct which led him early to the tomb. The emperor suffered so many vexations and contradictions from Verus, that some persons have imagined he poisoned him to get rid of them; a suspicion as unjust as injurious to so humane and patient a prince. The Egyptians endeavoured to throw off the Roman yoke, and it was not till after many sanguinary battles that the Romans succeeded in subduing them. The Moors invaded Spain; but a war still more dangerous was that of the Marcomanni, a people of Germany *.

Marcus Aurelius undertook himself the conduct of this war, in which he shewed the intre-

* Generally supposed to be the Bohemians.

pidity of a hero, with the abilities of a general. But as the chance of arms is uncertain, after several victories, he was so unfortunate as to see himself shut up by the enemy in a disadvantageous situation, and totally deprived of water. The Romans, covered with wounds and fainting with thirst, unable to attack, or even to defend themselves, were reduced to a most dreadful extremity; when the clouds arising from all parts, discharged an abundant shower, which restored their hopes, and courage, and preserved their lives. As soon as it began to rain, they lifted up their faces to receive the water in their mouths; and afterwards extended their vessels and shields to heaven for it, as they are represented in the Antonine column at Rome, the monument which transmits to us this famous event. Whilst the Romans were employed in quenching their thirst, the barbarians rushed on them; and divided between the eagerness for drinking, and the necessity for fighting, they yielded to that which was most pressing; and were on the point of being every one put to the sword, when the thunder and rain came to their assistance, which beating against the Marcomanni, and sparing the Romans, reduced the former to extremity. This rain was looked on as miraculous, and believed to be obtained by the prayers of a christian legion. In the letter in which the emperor informed the senate of this victory, it is with

great circumspection that he implies his belief of owing it to the christians: but he renewed at least the order of Antoninus in their favour, not to bring them to trial as christians, and added the penalty of death against their accusers.

As the public treasury was exhausted by this war, the emperor, unwilling to load the people with new taxes, sold the furniture of his palace, his gold and silver vessels, the pictures and statues belonging to the crown, his wife's robes richly ornamented with gold, and a rare collection of pearls which Adrian had purchased in his travels. The sale lasted two months, and produced so immense a sum, that Marcus Aurelius had the satisfaction of furnishing provisions for the people during a dearth, and paying the expenses of a five years' war. He imposed conditions on the Marcomanni and Quadi*, advantageous indeed to the victor, but not too severe on the vanquished: and, had he not been recalled by the revolt of Avidius Cassius in the east, would have been able to reduce them to a state which would have removed all dread of their future incursions.

This man, who pretended to be a descendant of the famous republican Cassius, one of Cæsar's murderers, said he desired the empire to restore

* People of Moravia.

its liberty. No general ever maintained discipline by more rigorous means. Every soldier who robbed was crucified; others who had committed still greater violences, he caused to be burnt alive, or thrown chained into the sea: he had the hands and feet of deserters cut off, saying, "That the sight of a criminal thus mutilated made a more lively impression than that of the same man expiring by a single blow." When charged with the conduct of the war against the Sarmatians, Cassius gave a terrible example of severity. Some of his troops having passed the Danube without orders, killed three thousand of the enemy, and returned loaded with booty. Their centurions, who had animated them to the enterprize, flattered themselves with the expectation of reward; but their inflexible general, fearing the danger of example, had the centurions crucified, without pity, like slaves. This act of atrocious severity disgusted the whole army: but Cassius, firm and cool, appeared unarmed in the midst of the irritated multitude; and said with a loud voice, "Kill me, and add, if you dare, to the forgetfulness of your duty, the murder of your general." His quiet intrepidity calmed the soldiers, who returned in silence to their tents; and the Sarmatians, when they heard the circumstance, despairing of conquering an army commanded by such a leader, sued for peace.

The emperor had nominated him governor of Syria in reward for his services, where, by decrying both Marcus Aurelius and Verus who were then living, he found means to bring over to him the neighbouring governors and people. He amassed considerable treasures, and condemning all which was done by the two emperors, represented the one as a wild philosopher, and the other as a debauched libertine. Verus informing his father-in-law of the circumstance, pointed out to him the danger he incurred for himself and his children, by placing his confidence in such a man: Marcus Aurelius thus answered him; “ I have read your letter in which I have remarked more solicitude than is becoming an emperor: if fate decrees the empire to Cassius, we shall in vain oppose him. You know the expression of your grandfather Adrian:—no man kills his successor.” He then proceeds to represent the injustice there would be in treating a man as criminal whom nobody had as yet accused: “ In case of treason, even when the crime is proved, one wishes to believe the accused may be in some way excusable. Let Cassius pursue his way: he is an excellent officer, and an useful man to the state. As to my children, to whose security you would have me sacrifice him, if he better deserves to be beloved than they, if his life promises greater advantages,

“ live Avidius Cassius, and perish the children of
“ Marcus Aurelius.”

Cassius, as Verus had foreseen, assumed the title of emperor; Marcus Aurelius proposed marching against him, with an intention, as historians have said, of yielding to him the empire, if the gods wished him to reign in his stead; “ for,” said this excellent prince, “ if I
“ expose myself to the dangers of war, if I
“ resolve to bear so much pain and labour, it is
“ neither from ambition or interest: I desire no-
“ thing but the happiness of my people.” As he was advancing toward Asia, and the troops which were sent before were exerting themselves against Cassius, the rebel was killed by a common centurion, nobody knows how, nor from what motive. The empress Faustina, who could judge from herself of her husband’s indulgence, fearing he would exert it too much on this occasion, pressed him by letter to have the accomplices severely punished: he answered thus, “ I have read your letter, my dear Faustina:
“ I look upon the advice you give me in it, as a
“ proof of your love for me and our children:
“ but permit me, my dear Faustina, to spare
“ those of Cassius, his wife and son-in-law, and
“ to write to the senate in their favour. I am
“ even sorry for the death of Cassius himself,
“ whom I would I could restore to life; be then

“easy, neither yielding to fear nor a spirit of
“revenge, the gods protect Marcus Aurelius.”

He wrote, also, in the following terms to the senate: “I entreat you, conscript fathers, not to
“punish the guilty with too much severity:
“but have regard to your character and mine.
“Let no senator suffer death, nor the blood
“of any person of distinction be spilt. Let
“those who have been banished, return and
“enjoy their property. Vengeance is beneath
“an emperor; you will therefore pardon the
“children, son-in-law; and wife of Cassius.
“Pardon, do I say! Alas, what crime have they
“committed? Let them live in security, and
“possess what belonged to Cassius; suffer them
“to go and reside in whatever place they shall
“prefer, as monuments of your clemency and
“mine. I require also beside, that every senator
“and Roman knight who have shared in this rebellion may, by your authority, be exempted
“from suffering death, proscription, or infamy;
“in fine, any sort of punishment. May it be
“said to your honour and mine, that this rebellion cost no man his life, excepting in the
“first tumults of war.” It appears by the extent of this amnesty that the rebellion was not inconsiderable.

By these acts of clemency, a life of labour was gloriously terminated; but Marcus Aure-

lius in leaving his crown to Commodus, a son unworthy such a father, had not the consolation, when expiring, of hoping that his endeavours for the public welfare would be crowned with success. In seeking for the fault of this emperor we find none but his too great indulgence for Faustina, whom he honoured even with the title of goddess, as well as for Commodus, of whose vices he could scarcely be ignorant. Before his death he saw him married, and recommended him to his friends, whom he entreated to assist him with his advice. He is supposed to have died of a contagious distemper. The last time the tribune attended him to receive the word, he said to him, "Go to the rising sun, for my part I am setting." He was fifty-nine years of age, of which number he had reigned nineteen after the death of Antoninus Pius. Some fragments of a moral work, which do honour to his head and heart, have been transmitted to us. His love for the sciences increased the number of philosophers in his reign, to whom he allowed pensions, though often, say historians, they had no title to being philosophers beyond their cloak and long beard.

After the Caligulas, Neros, and Domitians, Commodus, 180. we expect not to find a monster equal to them in vice and cruelty: but we now come to one, who even exceeds them, and reigned thirteen years. Commodus took pleasure in having

persons tortured in his presence. He cut a man in two to try the strength of his arm, and to see the entrails fall out. For his amusement he tore out one eye from those whom he met in the streets in the night; or to give employment to the abilities of a surgeon, caused one of their feet to be cut off: and of those who were obliged to have recourse to him, he cut off the nose and ears. If a man was well dressed, he killed him; if he was ill, the same. Assuming the name and attributes of Hercules, a lion's skin on his shoulders, and a club in his hand, he knocked down men whom he had first caused to be disguised as monsters. Of his palace he made an infamous resort of prostitutes, nor was the other sex safe from his pursuit. He debauched all his sisters, and stabbed one of them, Lucilla, after he had violated her. He sold permits for assassination, which no tyrant had before done. His bodily strength was prodigious, for he pierced an elephant with one stroke of his spear; and killed a hundred lions in the amphitheatre in one day at a single stroke each. His address equalled his strength. No one rivalled him in drawing the bow, and he fought seven hundred and thirty-five times in the amphitheatre, without ever being vanquished, though he chose out the strongest of the *athletæ* for his competitors. From his vices, the strength of his constitution, and the morals of Faustina his mother, Commodus has been

believed not to have been the son of Marcus Aurelius, but of some vigorous wrestler.

Marcus Aurelius was employed at the time of his death in reducing the Germans, who had again taken up arms. Commodus was immediately acknowledged by the army, amongst which he distributed vast sums; and profiting by his father's victories, made peace, when he might have put it for ever out of the power of this people to attack the empire more. But he was in haste to enjoy the pleasures of Rome, where he was basely honoured with a triumph, little deserved, with the title of *pious*, and other marks of distinction, disgraced by being bestowed on him.

It was not long before he appeared such as he was; imprudent, unjust, and sanguinary. The officers and magistrates who had been employed under Aurelius, were not such as would suit Commodus: he removed them all, and put the companions of his vices in their places. Complaints arose, which he expected to silence by punishment, exile, and death. The complaints became more urgent, and the number of the discontented increased. Lucilla his sister appeared at their head. After being left a widow by Verus, she married Pompeianus, still preserving the rank and honour of empress, though after Crispina the reigning empress. Weary of the second place, it is said she aspired to the first, not

to raise her husband, but a lover she preferred to him. Her husband's son, Pompeianus, whom she had betrothed to her daughter, was to strike the first blow; but instead of striking, he only glanced the poniard before the eyes of Commodus, uttering, "This is the present which the senate sends thee." The guards had time to observe and stop him; and the consequences of this ill-concerted plot was the death of the accomplices, and Lucilla herself, who after being banished, was killed in exile.

A number of innocent persons were included in the suspicions this conspiracy gave rise to, which served as a pretence for the emperor to get rid of those whom he disliked or suspected. Commodus enjoyed for a long time that good fortune which has attended other princes, of having his cruelties attributed to his ministers; so that to remain secure himself, he had only to sacrifice them to the public hatred. It was at this time they began to be called prefects of the prætorian guards. The first known under this title is Perennis, to whom two cotemporary writers give a directly opposite character: the one representing him as a flagitious villain, the corrupter of his youthful master, instigating every crime, and conniving at every transgression, to keep himself in place; and the other attributing to him morals, wisdom, and a real desire, as well as endeavour, to correct the bad propensities of

the emperor. But it is difficult to believe that the favourite and confidential minister of Commodus could be virtuous. If he was so, he suffered the punishment of having attached himself to so bad a man. A powerful cabal was formed against him: complaints were procured from all the provinces. The army presented their remonstrances with the manners of an irritated soldiery; and the trembling emperor abandoned his minister, who, with his sister, his wife, and two sons, was torn in pieces.

This commotion appears to have been excited by Cleander, who aspired to the place of prætorian prefect, which he obtained, and kept a considerable time, in defiance of the general indignation which his haughty and arbitrary government inspired. Foreseeing an attack, he had the precaution of surrounding himself with troops. The people and a part of the army presented against him the same complaints, and with the same formalities as they had done against Perennis. The minister repulsed the complainants by a body of cavalry he had taken into pay, whilst the emperor remained a quiet spectator of the combat. But, on one of his sisters representing to him that the issue might be fatal to himself, he caused his minister's head to be cut off; which thrown amidst the multitude, operated like a talisman, in suspending their fury; and the malcontents had free liberty to

exercise their revenge on the wife, children, and friends of Cleander, who were all massacred.

Commodus shewed the same indifference to what happened in the provinces, as to what passed under his eyes in Rome. He left the generals and governors to manage the wars and revolts as they could. It was no longer the nations bordering on the frontiers, or the nations which were subdued, that rose, the one against the armies that were their boundary, or the other against their oppressors; the Roman legions themselves disdained to serve under the ensigns of such an emperor. Several deserters formed themselves into an army which was with difficulty dispersed. Whole camps offered the empire to their leaders, who refused it; whilst during this confusion Commodus decided on the factions of the circus, or the combats of the gladiators, of which he himself made a part.

So great was his predilection for this ferocious band, that he had an apartment fitted up for himself in the building occupied by the gladiators, which belonged to the public, and which he designed to convert into his palace. From thence he meant, for the future, to appear surrounded with the consular and imperial fasces; naked or armed in the manner of the gladiators, and guarded by them alone, to proceed in pomp to the lists.

His mistress Martia, to whom he communi-

cated this ridiculous project, endeavoured to dissuade him from it. Her advice displeased him; and determining to rid himself of all who should trouble him with their censures, he put her at the head of the condemned: a design which is said to have been discovered in the same manner with the similar one of Domitian's. A child, whilst he slept, took up by chance the writing which contained the names of those he meant to put to death. Martia, like Domitia, met the child, and like her communicated the writing to the proscribed persons. In a council held by them, Martia undertook to poison her execrable lover: he took the poison on leaving the bath, and fell asleep. The vomiting, which ensued, awakened him, and suspecting the fact, he began to threaten, when a vigorous athletic, Narcissus by name, was let in, who finding him weakened by the operation of the poison, easily strangled him. He was thirty-one years old at his death.

In searching for the defects of Marcus Aurelius, we find but one; if we seek, in like manner, for the good qualities of his son, we discover not any. If he had any children by his wife Crispina, they died in their infancy. She who had allowed herself to imitate the vices of her husband, was exiled by him to the island of Capua, where she was assassinated by his order. On the death of the emperor, Eclectus and Læ-

tus, the former high-chamberlain, and the latter captain of the guards, resorted to the house of Helvidius Pertinax, who was, amongst all the senators, the person whom they judged most worthy of the empire. The night was far advanced; and on being informed of their arrival, he believed, as every honest man had a right to expect, that they came from the emperor to put him to death: nor did he think himself secure till some friends, whom he sent for the purpose, assured him they had seen the dead body of Commodus.

The father of Pertinax was a slave, who sold charcoal in a little village of Montferrat. The son, when become rich, ornamented his country with beautiful buildings; but would not suffer his father's little shop, which was surrounded with noble edifices, to be taken down, or in the least altered. Though his father had given him an education above his rank, he persisted a long time in following his paternal profession, which obtained him the name of Pertinax, or *the obstinate*. When he did quit it, it was to open a grammar school at Rome; but not finding this business answer his expectations, he embraced the profession of arms. From a common soldier he became a centurion, a commander of the cohorts, admiral of a fleet, general of an army, senator, consul, inspector of the armies for the restoration of discipline, proconsul of Africa, overseer of the

government of several provinces, regulator of the provisions of Rome, and, lastly, governor of that capital, which was the post he filled at the death of Commodus.

It has been said, that he mounted the throne by compulsion ; but it only appears that he seated himself there with diffidence, and would have preferred the not filling it. He offered in the senate to descend from it, and yielded to remain there only in compliance with the solicitations of the senate, and the wishes of all good men. It was not with the like satisfaction that the prætorian bands saw him armed with the sceptre. Unaccustomed to discipline, from the first moment they feared the weight of it would fall on them ; for though he had bestowed on them the usual donative, some expressions as to reform dropt from him in his first harangue, which gave the alarm to these assuming cohorts.

Pertinax brought with him to the throne an habit of application to business ; he was grave without fullness, prudent without guile, gentle without indolence, frugal without avarice, and great without pride. He is called by one historian, a friend of the human race, and a sincere adherent to the manners of the ancient Romans. He was not more happy in his wives than the two good emperors, Antoninus and Aurelius ; but he could not suffer at least that his should

receive the honours of which she was unworthy. Pertinax had a son yet in his infancy, whom he sent to his maternal grandfather, to be brought up free from the dangerous indolence of a court, and whom he would not suffer to remain in the imperial palace. It was not long that he stayed there himself.

From the moment of his taking possession of it, few days passed without some intrigue in the prætorian camp, the soldiers of which, idle and contentious, were employed only in devising the means to better their condition; that is, to chuse an emperor who would satisfy their avarice, and not oppose their pleasures. With this view, they cast their eyes sometimes on one leader, sometimes on another. Pertinax, informed of these cabals, removed, though not without punishment, the consul Falco, whom they wished to head them, not distrusting his captain of the guards, Lætus, who had placed him on the throne. This man, who had expected immense rewards, found not those he had received proportioned to his estimation of the service he had performed. The rank he held in the prætorian army gave him the means of fomenting this discontent, which he continued to increase, by making use of the emperor's name and authority in the severe punishments he inflicted on such soldiers as were found guilty.

This perfidious artifice succeeded, and after a

chastisement of this kind, inflicted amidst the murmurs of the soldiers, three hundred quitted the camp, and traversing the streets of Rome with drawn swords, made toward the palace. Lætus, contented with having excited them to this violence, escaped with concealment, and was sought for in vain to give orders as chief of the guards. The terrified courtiers would have persuaded the emperor to make his escape, persuaded that the people would soon come to his assistance; but Pertinax, scorning the meanness, appeared at the door of his palace, and harangued them with so much energy, that several returned their swords to the sheath, and retired in silence; till one from amongst them threw his javelin at him, crying aloud: "This is what the soldiers send you."

The enraged multitude at this signal, seized on him, pierced him with a thousand wounds, and cut off his head, which they then bore in triumph through the town. It would be difficult to express the despair of the people, and the senate, at the sight of this horrible object. After the dreadful reign of Commodus, they lost at the end of three months an emperor from whom they had entertained the most sanguine hopes. He was heard when expiring to call on heaven to avenge his death. Eclectus his chamberlain, who as well as Lætus had contributed to his elevation, did not desert him, and after having

wounded two or three soldiers, expired with his master, under the sword of the rebels. Pertinax lived sixty-six years, and reigned eighty-seven days.

Whilst three hundred murderers massacred the emperor, his father-in-law, Sulpicianus, whom he had deputed to the camp, was endeavouring to appease the tumult which agitated the prætorian guards. On hearing of his son-in-law's death, he did not blush to beg the empire of his assassins and offer them money; but the rebels, emboldened by this crime, published on the ramparts of Rome, that the empire was to be sold to the highest bidder. It chanced that on this day, Didius Severus Julianus, one of the richest citizens of Rome, gave an entertainment to one of his friends; and as there will always be found in a great city some whom public events but little affect, amid the mirth of the table, the guests advised Julianus not to neglect the proposed purchase: on which rising from table, he hastened to the camp, and standing on the ramparts made his proposals to the prætorian guards. Sulpicianus made his within, of which the best part was esteemed the money offered by the two competitors. A real auction took place, and at every bidding the soldiers uttered shouts of joy. At length from five thousand drachmas per man, promised by Sulpicianus, Julianus rising to six thousand two hundred and

fifty to be paid immediately, the empire was his!!

The prætorian guards led him in warlike array to the senate. The people did not oppose their march, but no acclamation was heard. Julianus was little esteemed when he began to reign; he was even despised, notwithstanding his extreme mildness, though he was not destitute of abilities. He had governed Belgium, and made war with honour; but opinions are divided on the origin of his wealth, which was very great, as well as with respect to his morals. They were rather those of opulent luxury, than downright debauchery. Like others, on the strength of a good table, which assured him applause, he would use expressions the most extravagant. Games of chance, and the combats of gladiators, were his favourite amusements. Temperance was not his virtue, and when, on entering the palace, he saw the supper prepared for Pertinax, he laughed at the moderateness of the repast, and ordered a sumptuous one, of which he ate heartily, though not without some uneasy reflections on the fate of his predecessor, whose dead body had obstructed his steps. He had him honourably interred, but the thoughts to which the funeral gave rise followed him to his chamber, and haunted him in his dreams.

As the prætorian guards took on them the

right of disposing of the empire, there was no reason the provincial legions should not do the same. Those of Britain offered it to Clodius Albinus, their general; who accepted it with the intention, as he said, to restore the republic;—a declaration which endeared him to the senate. He was a native of Africa, where he had gone through his studies with success. His reason inclined him to cultivate the sciences; his taste, which he himself treated as a folly, engaged him to follow the profession of arms; he had, however, no cause to repent his choice, as he passed through the military gradations and governments with all the dangers accompanying those honours under Commodus. Albinus carried his severity in the maintenance of discipline to an extravagant excess. He was unjust to his servants, insupportable to his wife, ill-humoured to every one; clean in his dress, but if not a glutton, at least not temperate. Is it credible that a man could possibly devour at his breakfast five hundred figs, a hundred peaches, ten melons, a hundred beccaficos, and four hundred oysters? yet this is related of him. It is said also that sometimes he drank wine to excess, and at other times he refrained from it; and that though deficient in chastity himself, he punished severely the want of that virtue in others.

If we seek for further contradictions, they will be found in Pescennius Niger, who was

named emperor by the legions of Syria. One author represents him as a model of morality, another as immersed in debauchery, and a third, who most probably is least distant from the truth, as neither deserving the praise nor the censure bestowed on him. A fourth writer calls him a valiant soldier, an excellent officer, an experienced general, an illustrious consul, but an unfortunate emperor. No general was ever perhaps more harsh to his soldiers, by whom he was notwithstanding adored, for he gave them an example of patience in military labours, and marched always on foot and bare-headed, in all weathers, in the first rank. He obliged his servants to carry burthens, that they might not appear attending only for his personal gratification, whilst the soldiers had their arms and baggage to carry. When the orator on his being saluted emperor began the customary panegyric he interrupted him, saying, " Give us the
" eulogium of Marius or Hannibal, or some
" famous general who is dead. Tell us what
" they did worthy of being imitated ; to praise
" the living, and more especially a living emperor who can reward and punish, is the
" business of a base flatterer. For my part my
" desire is to please the people whilst I live, and
" when I am dead you may praise me if I deserve praise." The family from which Niger sprung, was that of a knight only. He had but

little learning ; the Romans would have wished him to govern them, but he met with a formidable antagonist in Septimius Severus, with whom he had lived in the most intimate friendship.

This latter general, who was proclaimed emperor by the Illyrian troops, from his proximity to Italy, found a greater facility than his competitors in securing the right they had conferred on him. The legions of Gaul acknowledged him; and in order to leave all secure behind him as he advanced towards Julianus, who vegetated at Rome, he wrote a conciliating letter to Albinus, whom he expressed a desire of adopting, and gave him the title of Cæsar, which he accepted, though he had been already proclaimed emperor. Severus was esteemed the most active and intelligent man of the empire. A constant friend and a dangerous enemy, being equally violent in his friendship as his hatred; penetrating to discern the future, prudent in the choice of means, and not so delicate as to aspire to a spotless reputation, he sacrificed every thing to ambition. He was avaricious, yet still less so than cruel; an enemy to parade; eating little, yet sometimes yielding to intemperance in wine amongst his soldiers, whose severest labours he partook with them. He was born in Africa, and retained always the accent of the country. He had studied eloquence and philosophy; and excelled in the liberal arts and jurisprudence, which latter he studied under

Papinian. He neglected neither medicine nor judicial astrology, by which latter pretended science he regulated his life. Such was his belief in predictions, that after the death of his first wife, he married Julia, a lady of Emessa in Syria, because her horoscope announced that she should be the wife of a sovereign.

When Julianus was informed that Severus was advancing against him, he addressed himself to those guards whom he had so amply paid for the empire, and began to train and exercise them; but they appeared to him so enervated with idleness, that he judged them incapable of any resistance. He then desired the senate to declare his rival a traitor, and an enemy to his country, which they did. He afterwards conjured them to associate Severus with him in the empire, which they also did. Julianus then sending this diploma of his title to Severus, he put the bearers of it to death, alleging, what might possibly be true, that they came to assassinate him. Julianus then took all sort of ridiculous resolutions, such as to defend himself with the gladiators, to set fire to the city, and murder the senators. During the uncertainty of these deliberations, the senate, fully considering the state of affairs, thought they could not do better than submit to Severus, who was advancing at the head of a powerful and well-disciplined army. To render their homage more agreeable to their

new master, the conscript fathers sent to desire Julianus to die. The executioners found the unhappy monarch melting in tears; he offered to resign the empire, or to retire to whatever place they would appoint, or comply with any conditions, so he might but live. He entreated in the same manner that they would plead with Severus in his favour. "Alas!" said he sorrowfully, "what ill have I done? I never deprived any one of life." But his fate was not to be avoided; and he stretched out his neck like a lamb for the slaughter, at sixty years of age, after a reign of two months and some few days.

A hundred senators, who were sent to meet Severus, found him armed at the head of his troops, and were not admitted into his presence till they had been thoroughly searched; when, without deigning any other answer than a present which he made them, he gave them their choice, either to return instantly to Rome, or to go there slowly with him. Before his arrival in the city he caused the murderers of Pertinax to be executed. He had demanded them from the prætorian guards, who had sent them to him. To them also he sent orders to come to him unarmed, with such habiliments only as they wore when accompanying their prince at public solemnities. As soon as they arrived in the camp, they were surrounded by troops who had beforehand received the emperor's orders. Severus

appeared on his tribunal with an angry look, and reproached them with the death of Pertinax; the scandal of their having publicly sold the empire to the best bidder; and their faithlessness to Julian, whom, after they had themselves chosen him, they did not defend. "I am willing," he continued, "to spare you the tortures you deserve:—Take from them their horses and military insignia, of which they are unworthy. Fly far from Rome, for he amongst you who shall approach it even within thirty miles shall be punished by the most cruel death." Struck dumb by this discourse, they suffered their horses to be taken from them, their very tunics to be stripped off, and retreated in silence, covered with the shame which they deserved. The horse of one of them would follow his master, in spite of every endeavour to stop him: he killed him with his own hand, and himself afterwards, on the body of the faithful animal.

Severus made his entrance into Rome, surrounded by his armed troops, having the prætorian flags inverted. At the gate he quitted his arms, and assumed the robe. The senators bearing branches of laurel accompanied him, and the people, clothed in white, testified the excess of their joy. Garlands of flowers and magnificent hangings decorated the city, which breathed perfumes. The emperor, after

having sacrificed in the temples, retired to his palace, leaving the soldiers to lodge themselves as they chose, and take whatever they chose, without payment; threatening even to take more if any resistance were made. But after having terrified the Romans by shewing what he could do, he restored all things to order, and revived the hopes of the senate, yet uncertain of its fate, by a speech full of wisdom. He formed another corps, instead of the prætorian guard which he had disbanded and broken: the soldiers which composed it, he chose from amongst the bravest of his army; and he regulated it in such a manner that the admission into it became a subject of emulation, and a reward of good conduct and valour united. The title of Cæsar, which he had conferred on Albinus, he made the senate confirm, and prepared to attack Pescennius Niger.

Severus,
194.

Severus had never mentioned this rival from the time of his coming to Rome; nor was his thinking of him otherwise apparent than by his detaining his children, and those of the commanders attached to him, as hostages. From the knowledge of Niger's character for firmness and ability, this war appeared likely to be of long duration; but it was terminated in a few months, and by three battles, in which Severus was not with his troops. The head of his competitor was brought to him near Byzantium, which he

took and razed, after a siege of some continuance. The inhabitants of Antioch also felt the severity of this terrible conqueror. All the partizans of Niger, public or private, felt the effects of his wrath; the emperor making no distinction between those who had voluntarily followed him, and those whom the storms of faction had borne away with the torrent. He spared neither men, women, or children; whole families perished; and he shewed favour only to one statue erected in Rome to his rival, with an inscription, recapitulating the great qualities of this unfortunate man. Severus ordered that this should be preserved: "I would," said he, "have the world know what an enemy I have subdued."

To be the sole light of the Roman world, nothing now was necessary but the eclipse of Albinus, whose beams, though weak and bounded, affected the jealous eyes of Severus: and the more so, as he knew that the Cæsar of England was beloved at Rome. The wishes of the senate, harshly used by Severus, called him there. Whether Albinus shewed any design of complying with their desires, or whether Severus only feared that he might, he sent some villains with a letter to him, apparently on important business, but in reality charged only with assassinating him. The associated Cæsar discovered the plot, which he obliged the emissaries to ac-

knowledge. The publicity which he gave to this detestable treachery, augmented the number of his friends, and almost all the Gauls declared in his favour.

The perfidy of Severus thus raised a war against him, which in its beginning gave him much uneasiness. It is said, that on his departure from the east, where his generals had conquered Niger, before he marched toward the Gauls, he caused a young virgin to be immolated, that by the inspection of her entrails he might foresee the event. One battle only took place near Lyons, where the life of Severus was in danger; his horse was killed under him, and his army scattered, till throwing himself before the fugitives, he brought back victory to his standards. Albinus, mortally wounded, was brought to expire in the presence of his rival. Severus, in the excess of his transport, yielded to his natural character, in opposition to common decency. He spurred his horse on the body of this dead enemy; which he ordered to remain exposed till the dogs devoured it, and sent his head to the senate. The wife, children, and relatives of Albinus, all who could be discovered to have been his friends or partisans, were massacred. Whole towns had to mourn the loss of their most worthy citizens; and especially such as were rich, in whom their wealth too frequently supplied the place of guilt. Severus,

by means like these, amassed immense treasures, and by his largesses attached his soldiery to him. His return to Rome at the head of his victorious army, spread terror through the city. He had written to the senators with Albinus's head: "I send you this, that you may know you have offended me, and observe the effects of my resentment." A dreadful expression; and he failed not to fulfil the apprehensions to which it gave rise. In his next day's harangue to the senate, he affected to praise Commodus, the mortal enemy of this august body; and to insult it farther, ordered this tyrant to be placed amongst the gods. He applauded the cruelties of Sylla, Marius, and Augustus, as necessary precautions only; and attributed the death of Pompey and Cæsar to their ill-judged clemency. On his return to his palace, he spread carnage through the town; and in a few days forty-two senators of consular or prætorian dignity fell victims to his revenge. According to a cotemporary historian, he put to death all those whose birth, merit, or riches, gave them consequence in the city or the provinces. But during these massacres, he was extremely attentive to the wants, and even the pleasures, of the people, which he never quitted Rome without having provided for.

Severus, in his march toward Niger, beheld the Euphrates, and penetrated as far as Arabia.

When provoked by the Parthians, he returned again to the east, and coasting the Euphrates took Babylon in his way, which, as well as Seleucia, he found abandoned. From Ctesiphon, where the Parthian monarchs held their court, he met with some resistance; but the king himself flying, the city experienced the cruelty of the conqueror. The men were all put to the sword, and the women and children, to the number of a hundred thousand, sold as slaves. After this exploit, by which Severus obtained a triumph, and the title of *Parthicus*, he associated his eldest son, Bassianus, known under the name of Caracalla, with him in the empire. This latter word signified, in the language of the Gauls, a loose sort of coat which this prince usually wore. His father espoused him to Fulvia Plautilla, the daughter of Plautianus, whose favour is a singularity in the life of Severus.

How he obtained the great influence which he enjoyed is not known. The emperor's attachment to him was such, that not only in common conversation, but in his speeches to the senate, he bestowed on him more praises than even Tiberius had on Sejanus. Yet Plautianus was neither warrior, statesman, nor of an elevated birth. His power may be judged of by the honours paid him by the senate, the number of statues erected to him by its decree, and the disgraceful flattery of this body in or-

daining sacrifices to him, and swearing "by his fortune," as by that of the emperor. His table was better served than that of princes, and his equipage more magnificent. The portion he gave his daughter would have sufficed for fifty queens. He abused the confidence of his master so far as to put even illustrious persons to death without consulting him, and even without his knowledge. He maintained spies upon Severus, by whom he had all he said repeated to him, whilst the emperor, at ease as to the conduct of his favourite, informed himself of nothing concerning him, and continued to load him with honours.

This blind confidence had lasted still longer, but for the representations of Geta, the brother of Severus, who being near dying, sent for the emperor; and in a long conversation, unveiled to him the conduct of his detestable minister. Whether he went so far as to awaken his fears on the design of which Plautianus was suspected, the murdering him and his son, with the intention of taking their place, is not known. It does not appear, at least, that Severus gave credit to it; though he believed enough to make him think it proper to restrain the power of his family. And he ordered his statues to be taken down, under pretence that the honours paid to him were excessive. This appearance of disgrace sufficed to overthrow in a moment the

authority of the minister. But his son-in-law Caracalla, not thinking him sufficiently punished, found means to quarrel with him in the very chamber of the emperor, and had him killed in his fight. Severus, in relating this fact to the senate, contented himself with pitying the lot of men: "Of whom some," said he, "love too much, and others abuse the affection which is borne to them."

What he experienced soon after may serve to confirm this reflection. A revolt took place in Britain, whither, notwithstanding a sort of premature old age, brought on by his labours, Severus determined to go himself to restore order. He took his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, with him. Victory followed his standard, and he opposed a second wall to the incursions of the Caledonians, after having obliged them to pass the bounds prescribed by that of Antoninus, which he fortified anew against them. It was whilst treating with these barbarians, and receiving their arms as the pledge of their obedience, that on a cry of horror arising, Severus turned round, and beheld Caracalla in the act of advancing with his drawn sword to stab him. The cry stopt the arm of this unnatural son; and the father, without uttering a word, or shewing the least surprize, continued the treaty.

Severus, on his return to his tent, sent for his son, and in the presence of Papinianus the captain

of his guards, and Castor his chamberlain, reproached him with the heinousness of his crime. Then presenting him a drawn sword he said :
“ If the thirst of empire impels you to stain
“ your hand with your father’s blood, rather in
“ this tent satisfy your desire, than in the view
“ of friends and enemies. If, however, nature
“ yet speaks in your heart, order but Papinianus
“ to pierce mine, and you are the emperor: he
“ will obey you.” These dreadful words produced no emotion of remorse in Caracalla: on the contrary, he persisted in his detestable intention, and sedulously circulated amongst the soldiery that it was unworthy of them to obey an infirm old man incapable of commanding them. By which means he excited a revolt of that part of the army of which his father, too indulgent, had given him the command. Severus, assembling the legions, caused the heads of his accomplices to be cut off in his presence, but still spared his son. Afterwards addressing himself to the whole army with a terrible but majestic air, “ Is it the head,” said he “ that governs, or the feet?”

He fell sick, and reflection on his son’s crime increasing his sufferings, he found his days drawing to their close. His strength decaying, he called his sons to his bed-side, and left the empire between them, exhorting them to mutual concord, and giving them as the principal rule of

government the favourite maxim of all tyrants, "To attach the soldiery by gifts, and to set the rest at defiance." A short time before he expired, he said aloud, "I have been all things, and all things are nothing." Having the urn brought to him, which was to contain his ashes, he apostrophized it in these terms: "You will contain him for whom the whole earth was too little." On his pains increasing, he called for poison; but nobody daring to procure it him, he took so great a quantity of the most solid food, that he was suffocated with it, at the age of sixty-six, after a reign of eighteen years, leaving behind him the character of a great man, but not that of a good emperor.

Severus had been little regretted, had he not been succeeded by one of the most ferocious monsters that ever sullied a throne. Scarcely was he seated on it, before his attempts on the life of his brother Geta, shewed his intention of filling it alone. The characters of the two brothers were directly opposite. Their amusements in childhood constantly degenerated into quarrels, and they hated as soon as they knew each other. Caracalla attempted his brother's life, even before their departure from England; and during their journey to Rome, when bearing the ashes of their father, and accompanied by Julia their mother, their distrust and hatred prevented them from either lodging or eating together. They had

each separate houses and guards. Geta hating a life of such constraint, asked his brother to give up Asia and Egypt to him, and would have left to him the rest, and lived peaceably at Alexandria, but Julia opposed this partition of the empire. "Divide me also between you," said she to her children; but she had reason to repent not having acquiesced in the proposal.

Caracalla, losing all patience at finding his brother so well guarded that he could not get rid of him, demanded an interview, under pretence of a reconciliation, in their mother's chamber; and that she should be the only witness of it. Geta repaired thither unarmed, when Caracalla attacked and stabbed him in their mother's arms, who was herself wounded. Then rushing out of the apartment like a madman, cried out that his brother had endeavoured to assassinate him, and hastening to the camp where the flags which were an asylum were kept, returned thanks to the gods for having preserved him from the danger he pretended to have run. The soldiers collected round him. He increased their pay, and gave each individual a considerable present, with leave to fetch it from the public treasury, and was saluted sole emperor. He appeared next day at the senate, with a cuirass under his robe, renewing the accusation against his brother, and citing Romulus in justification of his fratricide. He was listened to and ap-

plauded, and the whole concluded with the magnificent obsequies of him whom he had murdered.

After the commission of this crime, he may be compared to a tiger, who having once tasted blood can no more abstain from it. He is said to have wept, on hearing his brother's name, or seeing his statues; but his perfidious tears did not prevent him from exterminating every friend of the unfortunate Geta, without distinction of age, sex, or quality. He begun the massacre amongst his domestics, who amounted to twenty thousand, and extended it to the knights and senators, whom his father or his brother had esteemed. Having found his mother in the palace, weeping with some ladies on the death of her son, he became so enraged that he was near destroying them all. His mother he spared, but the rest fell successively by the steel of the assassin. The uttering the name alone of Geta was a crime worthy of death; and it being one that was common amongst the slaves introduced on the theatre, it was obliged to be changed. The emperor gave orders that all the coin which bore this dreadful name should be melted down, and inscriptions of every kind which contained it effaced. Yet not daring to flatter himself, that all these precautions could obliterate the remembrance of his crime, he wished to have it justified; and charged the great civilian

Papinian, who had been his father's friend, to write an apology for it; but this great man answered: "It is not so easy to justify fratricide
" as to commit it: and to defame the innocent,
" after having robbed them of life, is to commit
" it a second time." The emperor had his head immediately cut off.

A son of the emperor Pertinax paid with his life for a severe jest which escaped him on the infamous adulation of the senate; who for some trifling exploits bestowed on Caracalla the titles of *Sarmaticus* and *Parthicus*: "That of *Geticus*," said the raillier, "ought to be added to them." The expression was capable of two interpretations, as the emperor had just gained some advantages over the Getæ: but Caracalla took it in the severest, and punished it with death. He put also some vestals, who had pitied his brother's fate, to death, as well as the unfortunate Plautilla his wife. Nor did Plautillus her brother, or any of their relatives, escape his dagger. The Romans were never treated with more barbarity. He ordered all who at the circensian games had laughed at the awkwardness of a driver whom he protected, to be murdered for the insult; but as it was not easy to distinguish the offenders, the soldiers fell on all, sparing none but those who purchased their lives by the loss of their property. The prince had his share of the pillage, and spent it as he acquired.

His mother one day reproaching him with his prodigality, told him he ought to fear want; but shewing her his sword, he said, "So long as I have this, I shall want for nothing." The treasury being, however, exhausted with his extravagance, he made base coin, and was the first sovereign who gave this dangerous example.

Historians, intent on relating his cruelties, appear to have forgotten his debaucheries; for it is not easy to believe him guiltless of them, surrounded as he was with the vilest wretches, whom he preferred to the highest dignities of the empire. Thus, he entrusted the government of Rome to the eunuch Sempronius, a physician and poisoner by profession, whom Severus had exiled to a desert island. He created Theocritus, originally a slave, afterwards a dancing master and buffoon, captain of his guard. Epagathus, another freed slave, governed with them the emperor and the empire, selling the decrees of justice, and the blood of the innocent. It was under these ministers, so little favourable to Rome, that the law was established or promulgated, which declared all the free subjects of the empire Roman citizens; by which means, the privileges of those who inhabited the city became less valuable, as more extended.

It was also the intention of Caracalla to impoverish this opulent city, by depriving it for

some time of the presence of the imperial court. He began his travels through the Gauls, where he massacred so many that he was even still more abhorred there than in Rome, not even sparing the physicians who had attended him in a dangerous sickness, every one of whom he condemned to death. The motive of this cruelty is unknown, but they deserved their fate, for having saved such a monster. The Allemanni and Celts made, at this time, their first incursions into the territories of the empire. Caracalla shewed himself, on this occasion, a valiant soldier and a bad general. He killed in single combat one of them who defied him, and was obliged to conclude with them a disgraceful peace. But he had at least the pleasure of knowing, that the German women, to whom he had given the choice of death or slavery, had killed themselves and their children in preference to being sold. From this war, he took the title of *Germanicus*, or *Allemanicus*.

He passed into Asia with several of the richest senators, whom he had taken with him against their consent, and whom he admitted to his table, obliging them to pay the expenses of the journey, and to adorn the circuses, amphitheatres, and other public buildings, of the towns he passed through. In Gaul he had taken the habit of that country; in Germany, that of the Germans. On the ruins of Troy he turned Achilles, imi-

tating his combats in the public games: in Macedonia he copied the air, countenance, dress, and manner of Alexander, inclining his head on his shoulder like him. He called a legion a phalanx, and gave to his officers the names of those of the conqueror of Asia. The kings of Armenia and Osrohoene, who had trusted themselves to him under his promise of royal treatment, were thrown in prison; and forced into a treaty, which their subjects would not ratify. The inhabitants of Alexandria, who were noted for raillery, suffered his vengeance for some satyrical expression they let fall on the death of Geta. There are few examples of any city being so ill treated: he ordered a general massacre, which took place during the night, and which he caused to be continued in the day, to enjoy the sight of the streets covered with dead bodies, and flowing with blood. Before he left this scene of his rage, he despoiled the city of all its privileges, suppressed the celebrated assemblies of men of letters, drove out the strangers, and had every street blocked up by a wall guarded by soldiery, that the unfortunate Alexandrians might not be able to see each other without permissions, which were to be dearly bought.

The pretended exploits, which obtained for Caracalla the epithet *Parthicus*, of which we have before made mention, are variously related

by writers who yet agree in their catastrophe. Whether he demanded the daughter of Artabanes, king of Parthia, in marriage, or whether impelled by confidence, or forced by fear, the monarch laid open his country to his future son-in-law ; as the emperor approached Ctesiphon, with an escort which might almost be called an army, Artabanes went to meet him, accompanied with the first nobility of his kingdom without arms, and magnificently dressed. When, on a signal agreed on by the treacherous Caracalla, his soldiers fell on the Parthians, whom they robbed and murdered. The king was saved, and the emperor, irritated at his escape, destroyed every place with fire and sword as he returned.

The tyrant saw Rome no more ; and the magic in which he believed was the cause of his death. He had given orders to Flavius Maternianus, the commander of the military at Rome, to seek out, by every mean, even that of magic, if any one aspired to the empire. Maternianus discovered that an African diviner publicly promised the empire to Macrinus their prætorian prefect. The emperor's agent sent him immediately this discovery. The letter reached his mother Julia, then at Antioch, who sent it on to her son at Edessa. The packet arrived whilst he was driving a car at the public games, and the prince delivered it unopened to Macrinus, who stood near him to learn from him its con-

tents. In the news of the African prediction, Macrinus saw his certain fate, and suborned some malcontents whom he had probably gained over beforehand. One of them, Julius Martialis by name, approached the emperor, when every one had retired to some distance, whilst he attended the necessary calls of nature, plunged the poniard in his throat, and killing him with a single blow, mingled immediately in the crowd; and had the murderer used the precaution of throwing away his poniard, he would never have been known. A guard observing it, he was instantly massacred, and with Martialis the secret of Macrinus remained buried. Caracalla was twenty-nine years old, and had reigned six.

Macrinus,
217.

The elevation of Macrinus to the throne may teach every one neither to despair of his fortune, nor to trust too much to it. He was of ignoble birth of Cæsarea in Mauritania, now Algiers, but the benignity and gentleness of his manners effaced the disgrace of his birth. He had gained some reputation by his knowledge of the laws; and became intendant to some man of high rank. Afterward exiled by Severus to Africa, without it being known why, he there gained his livelihood by pleading, had an employment in the ports, and returning to Rome under Caracalla, obtained the place of counsellor of the exchequer; from which he passed to that of prætorian prefect, which he filled with the exactest justice. The reputation of the woman he mar-

ried was not unfulfilled : a circumstance which, probably, in such a court as Caracalla's, obtained him protection. That Macrinus had great credit there, appears by the facility with which he found, on a sudden, conspirators against the emperor, and an executioner of his plot. The part he took in it was not known, and the army, astonished at the blow, remained some days in uncertainty. Macrinus caused his name to be whispered along the ranks, and he was elected, less, perhaps, through esteem, than from the want of competitors, and the effect of the money which he bestowed or promised.

There appears to have been little more deliberation in the senate, to whom Macrinus thus wrote : " Caracalla has suffered the fate he seemed to deserve. The army has chosen me in his place ; and I flatter myself that you, conscript fathers, will confirm the choice of the soldiers." He did not flatter himself in vain. The senate, in conformity to the will of the legions, declared him emperor, accumulated on him all the honours of his most illustrious predecessors ; whilst, in consequence of the enthusiasm which filled every mind, on the news of the tyrant's death, they had all the statues of gold and silver melted, and annulled all his edicts. This excess of zeal was not pleasing to the soldiers attached by interest to Caracalla. They called aloud for his apotheosis,

to which Macrinus was forced to consent. And the senate, obliged to obey the emperor, who himself obeyed the soldiery, decreed divine honours to the barbarian Caracalla. His ashes were sent to his mother Julia, who suffered herself to expire for want of food.

Macrinus continued the war against the Parthians, which the perfidy of his predecessor had provoked, but was not fortunate in it; and terminated it by an uncertain peace. This emperor, who might be said to be taken from the dust of the bar, understood laws better than battles. His regulations in the former are applauded, as well as the order he introduced in the administration of justice, and exactness in making it observed. He must, however, have been allowed to be somewhat severe if he treated all crimes as rigidly as adultery. The transgressors, of whatever condition, were, on conviction, burnt alive. Macrinus found not the docility he endeavoured to exact in his attempt to restore the troops to discipline, then become excessively relaxed. Under Caracalla, the soldiers quartered in towns had led the most licentious lives. Macrinus encamped them under tents in the country, forbidding them to approach any town; a rigour which appeared more insupportable to them, from the emperor himself yielding to the pleasures of an effeminate life at Antioch, whilst they sometimes wanted

common necessities. They began to regret Caracalla, and hate the very name of Macrinus, whom they reproached with the baseness of his origin. And learning, at length, that he was the author of the death of Caracalla, they chose another emperor.

This revolution was the work of Mæsa, sister of the deceased empress Julia; a woman who, according to historians, to the cunning of the one sex joined the courage of the other. She had lived with her sister at court in the reigns of Severus and Caracalla; and had, with great wealth, acquired a great knowledge of business. Macrinus left her in possession of her riches, but exiled her to her native city Emesa in Phœnicia. Here she settled with her two daughters and two grandsons, Julia Soæmis, mother of Avitus Bassianus, aged thirteen, and Julia Mamæa, mother of Alexianus, aged nine. The grandmother consecrated her two children to the sun, who was adored there under the name Eleagabalus. Avitus became the high-priest; and, in virtue of his office, was called Heliogabalus. At the temple of the sun without the walls of Emesa was not far distant from Macrinus's principal camp, the Roman soldiers had more than once an opportunity of visiting it, and admiring the young pontiff, who was remarkable for his beauty and his manners, to which was annexed a character the most amiable.

Mæsa observed with pleasure the rising disposition in the hearts of the soldiers in favour of her grandson. She cultivated it, and ardently spread the report, that the young high-priest was the son of Caracalla, whilst she made a shew of her wealth, of which she distributed one part, and promised another. The intrigue was so well conducted, that the soldiers called Heliogabalus to the camp, and proclaimed him emperor, before a suspicion arose in Macrinus. He treated this rebellion, the work of a woman and a child, with contempt, thinking it sufficient to recal the soldiers to obedience, to send and harangue them. But his orator was ill attended to, and killed. The emperor then gathering all his troops together, marched against the rebels, who were strengthened by new accomplices. The battle which took place between the two armies, equally experienced, was bloody. That of Macrinus had at first the advantage; but the courage of Heliogabalus and his mother Soæmis brought the soldiers back to the charge, and wrested the victory from Macrinus, who fled and was slain. He had reigned only fourteen months, and lived fifty-four years. His first arrangements, which promised an equitable government, made him regretted by the senate; though he escaped not the reproach of placing freed men, and others of low extraction, in places till then filled only by senators.

Heliogabalus, on mounting the throne at fourteen, was prepared for every excess of debauchery, and every vice; the most immoderate luxury, and prodigality almost incredible. All the meats of his table were brought from the most distant countries. The way to the chamber in which he slept was strewed with gold dust, as if he thought it beneath him to touch the earth. He never put on the same dress twice, nor wore twice the same rings and jewels. His clothes went every day to his attendants, and his jewels to those about him; as in like manner his vessels of gold and silver to the guests of his table. He made his palace an abode of prostitution of every kind, however detestable; placed in it the most infamous debauchees of Rome; and renewed, under the eyes of the public, the monstrous marriages of Nero. He received six successive wives to his bed, amongst the rest a vestal, which was a most heinous offence in the eyes of the Romans. He sent her away, and then recalled her. "She a priestess," said he, "and I a priest, we shall have a posterity worthy the gods!"

In contemplating nothing but his horrible irregularities, we pronounce Heliogabalus a monster: but in attending to circumstances, the monster in some manner disappears; and we see with some sort of pity, an unfortunate young man, given up without restraint to a turbulent

disposition, with every means of satisfying its desires; surrounded with corrupters, abettors, and inciters of his passions, equally through taste and interest; and intoxicated with the idea of his power, which he supposed to consist in the licentious abuse of it, by which every thing was allowed him. Add to this, the weak indulgence of a mother, who, idolizing her son, was blind to his irregularities, or dared not to reprove them, lest she should lose her influence over him: and we shall pity the lot of the great, to whom the rigid principles of virtue have not been inculcated, before, by their birth, or other circumstances, they are placed on the slippery edge of the precipice of absolute power.

It was under Heliogabalus that women began to play a public part in the government of the empire; and the essay was not a happy one. That the young emperor introduced his grandmother into the senate, with orders that she should be placed, and give her opinion immediately after the consuls, must not be reckoned amongst his serious faults, any more than his having created a female senate, at the head of which Soæmis his mother presided; since this senate being charged only with the regulating of fashions, visits, and things of no consequence, its institution may be looked on as a harmless caprice. The same cannot be thought of the influence which the rival authority of Soæmis and

Mamæa, the latter the mother of Alexander, had on the public.

Mamæa is said to have been a christian, and, consequently, careful to regulate the morals of her son, and inspire him with virtuous sentiments; which rendered him extremely unlike his cousin Heliogabalus. The bad conduct of the latter gave rise to his grandmother Mæsa's fears, that the Romans would not long endure him on the throne. She united her influence with that of her daughter Mamæa, to induce the emperor to create Alexander, then only thirteen years of age, Cæsar. Heliogabalus yielded to the desires of his grandmother and his aunt, but soon repented his complaisance; and, whether through anger at the young Cæsar's refusing to be the companion of his vices, or through jealousy at the esteem and attachment shewn to his cousin, he endeavoured to rid himself of him. But Mamæa, who watched attentively over the days of a beloved son, in concert with Mæsa, who revealed to her the designs of her grandson, preserved him from his secret attempts. Heliogabalus then openly sent assassins to murder him. But the prætorian guards learning the danger with which the young prince was threatened, flew to the palace, and would have stabbed the emperor himself, had he not given up the companions of his debauchery, and those whom they believed to be the enemies of Alexan-

der. Heliogabalus was even obliged to promise amendment.

History does not represent Soæmis his mother as an accomplice in this crime, any more than in the deaths of several senators, with other cruelties exercised by the emperor on those whom he believed to be too warmly attached to his cousin; but she appears to have always been of his council: and wo to the reputation of those who have any share in advising a wicked prince! If she were not an accomplice, then was she indeed the most unfortunate of mothers, to suffer the afflicting sight of so many crimes, and of the catastrophe they led to. Heliogabalus renewed his attempts against his cousin. The prætorians declared anew for him, and required that he should be brought into their camp for security, to which the emperor consented, and accompanied him thither; but displeased at the manner in which his cousin was received, he would have punished those who applauded him as traitors. The army revolted, the emperor concealed himself, and was discovered; and the soldiers slaughtered him in the arms of his mother, whom they massacred also. He was but eighteen years old, and had reigned near four. He was killed in the common jakes of the camp; a tomb worthy of him.

Alexander
Severus,
222.

The hopes conceived from the good education of Alexander Severus were not fallacious. Mamæa preserved that empire over her son,

which an enlightened tenderness claims over a virtuous mind. She had not bestowed useful knowledge on him to the neglect of agreeable accomplishments. He could paint, sing, and play on various instruments. His body had been early formed to labour and fatigue. His humanity was conspicuous from his childhood; and the generosity of his disposition rendered him obliging. He mounted the throne at thirteen; an age at which we must less attribute to him than to his mother and grandmother, whose opinions he always respected, the choice of a council of sixteen of the most estimable senators. Amongst them, are reckoned Sabinus, called the Cato of his age; Ulpianus, a celebrated juriconsult; Gordian, who afterwards obtained the empire; Catilius Severus, admired for his profound erudition; Servianus, respectable for his probity; and Quintilius Marcellus, an eminent advocate for the manners of the ancient Romans. With such counsellors, and with an excellent disposition, Alexander began a reign worthy of being a model for future princes.

The empire appears to have been at this time so venal, so doomed to become the prey of whoever could conciliate the soldiery, that it is no matter of surprize that new pretenders to it arose. The armies, desirous of the glory and the profit of giving a master to the empire, called their generals or others to the post even against

their wills. Thus one Taurinus, honoured in spite of himself with the title of emperor by the Syrian army, took to flight; and being followed by the rebels, drowned himself in the Euphrates. Uranus, more sensible to the splendour of a crown, accepted it from the army of Edessa, but was defeated by the faithful troops of Alexander. Even at Rome, some prætorian guards undertook to place one of the name of Antoninus on the throne; but he escaped their fury, and retired into the country.

Alexander extricated himself by his own ability from the ambitious intentions of one competitor named Ovinus Camillus, offspring of one of the most illustrious families of Rome. The young emperor being informed that he endeavoured to gain the affection of the soldiers, with the hopes they would invest him with the royal purple, sent for him to court, and thanked him for his willingness to share with him the troubles attached to his dignity, and named him his colleague. It was then necessary to set out on a war against some of the frontier nations of the empire. Alexander offered the command to Camillus; and on his declining it, with prudent generosity, entreated him to divide at least with him the glory of the expedition. The two colleagues set off together on foot; Camillus being soon tired, the emperor advised him to take horse for the rest of the journey; but the

horse also soon fatigued him, and Alexander supplied him with a carriage. This procedure, so flattering in its appearance, mortified his colleague so much, that he abdicated his honours, and returned to his country-seat, where Alexander let him live in quiet.

The example which the emperor gave the soldiers in marching, he gave them in every thing else, using the same food and clothing as themselves. He was to be seen and approached by all at his meals. He was particularly attentive to their preservation, visited them in their sicknesses, and rewarded them nobly; requiring at the same time from them an exact performance of their duties. These attentions gave him a power over them, notwithstanding his youth, which he knew on occasion how to make respected. Let the reader represent to himself a youth, surrounded with a murmuring legion, which expressed its discontent aloud. "Be silent," said he, with an authoritative tone, "reserve these clamours to intimidate the Persians, the Samnites, and the Germans. Those who taught you the art of war, ought also to have told you you should frighten your enemy by cries like these, but not your emperor, who supports, clothes, and pays you. Silence then these seditious clamours, or fear lest in his anger he should not stop at disbanding you!" They continued their threats. Alexander, in a

tone of wrath, said: " Citizens, retire and
" leave your arms!" Struck, as by a clap of
thunder, the legion laid down their arms, took
off their military insignia, and retired in silence.
After having mortified them, the emperor re-
ceived them again into favour, and they, amongst
others, are remarked as having distinguished
themselves in the Persian war.

This young prince signalized his courage in
this expedition; in which he conducted himself
like an able commander. He gave an account
of his victory in full senate, modestly speak-
ing in the name of all, and taking to himself
no honour but in common with the rest of the
army. " The enemy," said he, " approached
" to attack us with seven hundred elephants;—
" so great a number of these animals had never
" before been seen together:—they had castles
" filled with archers on their backs. Three hun-
" dred of these elephants were taken, two hun-
" dred killed, and we have brought back eighteen
" with us. The Persians had eighteen hundred
" chariots armed with scythes; two hundred of
" these we have taken from them. We have cut
" to pieces an army of a hundred and twenty
" thousand horse, and ten thousand infantry,
" completely armed. We took an immense
" number of prisoners, whom we sold, and the
" army is returned laden with honour and
" riches. It is for you, conscript fathers, to re-

“ turn thanks to the gods, who protected our
“ arms ; and to shew them our gratitude.” To
his triumphal car, instead of four white horses,
which were usual, was harnessed the same num-
ber of elephants. And there was this particu-
larity in the triumph of Severus, that besides
the customary gratification given by the emperor
to the people, he established a fund in his mo-
ther’s name for the support of the children of
the poor citizens ; from hence called the child-
ren of Mamæa.

If it is the duty of a prince to be mild, still
more is it his duty to be just, which Alexander
fulfilled with the utmost exactitude. “ Not to
“ intrigue for places is,” said he, “ a great re-
“ commendation to them.” He suffered not
any to be sold. “ He who buys must sell in his
“ turn ; and it would be unjust to punish a man
“ for selling what you had permitted him to
“ buy.” When he intended conferring on any
one the government of a province, he caused
the person’s name to be published ; and encour-
aged all who knew any thing against him to
come and declare it, either in public or private.
“ As the christians,” he said, “ make use of this
“ method in the choice of their priests, it is but
“ reasonable we should do the same in the
“ choice of governors for the provinces, in
“ whose hands are entrusted the lives and proper-
“ ties of so great a number of men.” This

regulation of the first christians quoted and imitated by a pagan prince is remarkable. His favourite maxim which he had inscribed every where was: "Do to others what you would have them do to you."

To Alexander we owe the example, perhaps single in its kind, of the punishment inflicted on one who sold not his influence, but the shadow of it. In consequence of the scrupulous attention he paid to all around him, he discovered that one of his courtiers gave himself out to those who wanted protection, as one who had great power with the emperor; and under this pretence, he promised to speak of the affairs of the petitioner and to recommend them effectually in consideration of a sum agreed, on which he received money in advance, and often from both parties. It was proved that he sometimes never opened his lips in favour of the persons, whose hopes he continued to feed, and from whom he drew an addition to the original sum. By this fraud, he had amassed immense riches. The emperor, exasperated at a deception which tended to dishonour himself, accused the perpetrator to the senate, who condemned him to death. He was fixed to a gallows, and suffocated by the smoke of green faggots which were lighted round him. During his suffering, a public officer cried: "He who sold smoke, dies by smoke." It is probable Alexander was not twice compelled to exert

the same severity, and that this proved a curb to other malversations, too frequently customary in the courts of princes. He diminished the imposts as much as possible; and those employed to levy them he denominated necessary evils.

A war against the Germans, succeeded to that of the Persians. The emperor sat off for that country, accompanied by his mother and his usual council. He found the legions wholly without discipline, and his first care was to endeavour its restoration. This intention alarmed the soldiers, whose fears and discontents were artfully fomented by one of their officers named Maximinus, a Goth by nation, whom Alexander in consideration of his bravery had put at the head of one of the Pannonian legions. He made use of his credit among the soldiers to represent their young emperor to them as a weak prince, who suffered himself to be governed by a woman, incapable of commanding them, or carrying on the war with vigour; and by these means gained many accomplices.

The barbarian had examined places, and studied opportunities well. It was about one in the afternoon, when the guards, yielding to sleep, were less vigilant than usual, that Maximinus with a determined body arrived at the place where the emperor was stationed, which was at a small distance from the army. The greatest part of

the guards fled in their fright, and those who remained were massacred. Mamæa, alarmed by the noise, hastened with a few captains of the guards to the spot, all of whom the rebels assassinated, and entered with their drawn and bloody swords into the prince's tent. Alone and unarmed he made no resistance, but in his mantle muffling up his face received in silence the blows which were aimed at him. Thus perished Alexander Severus at the age of twenty-six years and a half, and after a reign of thirteen. Trajan, Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius, performed, perhaps, greater things; but justice requires we should observe that they were older when they mounted the imperial throne, than Alexander when precipitated from it.

The two
Maximinus,
the two
Gordians,
Maximus
and Balbi-
nus, 235.

After having planned and co-operated in the murder of Alexander, Maximinus had sufficient art to make it believed he had no share in it, and to procure himself to be elected emperor by the army. The senate, who dared not oppose, confirmed the choice of the soldiers. The new emperor associated Maximinus his son with him in the dignity. The father was the offspring of a Goth and an Alan. His first condition was that of a shepherd. He is said to have been near eight feet high, well proportioned, and of extraordinary strength. The proofs he gave of it, joined to his intrepidity, raised him to military honours. It is averred that he could draw a waggon which two oxen could scarcely move; that he

could root up large trees, and break pebbles with his fingers.

In the games given by Severus when he passed through Thrace, Maximinus, then twenty years of age, seeing there were prizes to be gained, demanded, in his barbarous language, a mixture of Thracian and Latin, to be admitted amongst the combatants. The strongest slaves in the camp were assigned for his adversaries, of whom he overcame sixteen successively. The emperor, in reward, admitted him into the cavalry. As this prince was a few days afterwards visiting the different quarters of the camp, Maximinus kept up with him on foot. The emperor still further to try him galloped his horse; and by the side of it Maximinus made the tour of the camp with him, without appearing fatigued. At the end of their course, the emperor said: "Maximinus, will you wrestle now?" He consented; the best wrestlers of the camp were sent for, of whom he overthrew seven like children. The prince honoured him with a gold collar, and gratified him with high pay; of which latter he stood greatly in need, for he ate sixty pounds of meat a day, and drank twelve quarts of wine without intoxication. He was amongst the guards of Caracalla, and so much attached to that prince, that he would not serve under his murderer Macrinus. Heliogabalus raised him to the tribuneship, but disgusted at some raillery of that

emperor's, he retired from the service. He appeared again under Alexander, who gave him the command of a legion, and relying on him for the restoration of discipline, entrusted him with that great power in the army which he abused. His son, almost equal in stature to his father, was as admirable for his strength and courage, as remarkable for his beauty.

Maximinus bore so great a hatred to persons of rank, who seemed a reproach on the meanness of his extraction, that a considerable number perished inhumanly by his order. Two revolts, which took place in his very camp, furnished him with a pretence for satisfying his hatred against the great and the rich. One of these was headed by Magnus of consular dignity and illustrious birth. His intention was, when the emperor, who was then marching against the Germans, should have passed the Rhine with one part of his army, to break the bridge and be proclaimed emperor by the other: but his plan being discovered, he was killed. The other revolt was in favour, though against the wishes, of Quartinus, a consul also, and friend of Alexander, whom the discontented legions invested in spite of himself with the imperial mantle. An officer, named Macedo, his friend, to obliterate the remembrance of his share of the revolt, cut off the head of Maximinus's competitor in the night and took it to him. But the emperor

put him to death as a rebel to his prince, and traitor to his friend. In the German war Maximinus acquired the confidence of the foldiers by his fuccesfs. In the letter which he wrote to the fenate he boasted—what a boast in the eyes of humanity !—that he had ravaged a hundred and fifty leagues of country; destroyed as many villages; made an incredible number of prifoners; and fought more battles than any of his predecessors!

But whilst he traversed the marfhes of the lower Germany, where he was near perifhing, his cruelty had raifed him enemies even in the burning fands of Africa. Two young perfons of diftinction, condemned by the agent of Maximinus to a fine which muft have ruined them, gained over the foldiers, killed the emperor's agent, and, well affured he would avenge his death, raifed up a rival to him in the perfon of Gordian the African proconful. Befides an illuftrious birth, Gordian poffeffed every endowment neceffary to a good emperor. Well informed, and affable to thofe under him, yet majeftic in his appearance, he failed in nothing which could qualify him to bear the fceptre worthily. But the advanced age of eighty made it heavy and troublefome to his hand; and he, after rejecting it as long as he was able, accepted it at leaft only on condition that he might divide

the burthen with his son, who was forty-six years old, and possessed of every virtue.

The senate, who detested Maximinus, applauded the election, the news of which arrived at Rome by the diploma of the two emperors, which was full of respect and deference for that body. In the first transports of joy, the people who participated with the senate their hatred to Maximinus, gave a loose to the greatest cruelties against the friends and partizans of the barbarian emperor. The senate, in some degree, authorized these excesses, by proscribing the two Maximinus and declaring them enemies of the country. But these decrees had not reached the provinces when the news of the precipitate catastrophe of the two Gordians arrived at Rome. The old emperor had, on mounting the throne, ill-judgedly displaced an old officer of merit, Capelianus by name, who had always displeased him. Instead of obeying, he had collected some troops. Gordian the son who went to meet him was beaten and slain; and the father in despair hung himself in his girdle, after a reign of one month and six days.

In proportion as the elevation of the Gordians had excited the joy of the capital, their fall involved it in consternation. After the steps which had been ventured against Maximinus, and from the knowledge of his character, the most dreadful revenge was to be expected from him. It was

indeed rather with the rage of a beast than a man, that he had received the information of the cruelties which had been practised against his friends. He beat his head against the wall, rolled on the ground, tore off his clothes, drew his sword, struck whoever was near him, and would have stabbed his own son had he not made his escape. The reason of his violence toward him was his having refused to reside at Rome, where he might have stopt the proceedings of the senate, and prevented the rebellion. The consternation was universal: the women and children, with the whole people, offered their prayers in the temples that Maximinus might never more re-enter the capital.

Maximinus, however, approached; and the extremity of despair gave rise to a project, which prudence in calmer times would have disallowed. The senate elected two emperors, as different in their qualifications as their births, and flattered themselves the very contrast would be but more conducive to the public good. Balbinus reckoned a line of illustrious ancestors, possessed great wealth, and though addicted to shew and pleasure, was not the less generally esteemed. His talents were less of a military than a civil nature. Maximus, on the contrary, the son of a cart-maker, and who, from a common foldier, had raised himself to be commander of the armies, promised a sure de-

fence against the attacks of Maximinus; he was therefore entrusted with the regulation of the troops, whilst Balbinus held that of the government. But this election was not followed by the popular approbation. The people revolted; and to appease them, Gordian, the son or nephew of Gordian's son, though only thirteen years old, was obliged to be associated with the two emperors; for such, through their respect and attachment to that family, was the wish of the Romans.

Yet the facility of the senate did not succeed in quieting the popular commotions; for Rome now began to feel the convulsions of that anarchy which led to her ruin. A dispute arose between the people and the prætorians: when the latter, ill treated, retired to their camp. There the populace, assisted by the gladiators, attacked, and being unable to conquer them, cut the canals which conveyed them water. The soldiers became desperate, then fell on the surrounding multitude, and made a dreadful carnage. They pursued them even into the town. Stones and tiles were showered down on them. The soldiers then set fire to the shops and the houses; and in a short time a part of the city and many valuables were reduced to ashes. Many people of all ranks perished in the flames; the temples were prophaned, the houses plundered, and the streets filled with the dead.

The emperor Balbinus, after being dangerously wounded in the head, with difficulty appeased the tumult, by bringing forth young Gordian invested with the purple; and as hostilities then ceasing, it seems probable that the rights of the young prince had caused at least a part of the dispute.

After these massacres, and this destruction, notwithstanding the dread which it might be expected the approaching invasion of Maximus would spread, the people continued, with disgraceful insensibility, to frequent the theatres as usual. Fortunately the barbarian was stopt by the inhabitants of Aquileia, who preferred death to surrendering. The very women and children took their part in its defence; the former cutting off their hair to make bow-strings; an act of heroism, which was commemorated by a temple dedicated to Venus the Bald. This resolution on the part of the citizens of Aquileia saved Rome. Whilst Maximus, protected by the latter city, enlarged and disciplined his army, the soldiers of Maximinus, tired of his cruelties, and alarmed also with the report that the whole empire was in arms against them, rushed on the emperor's tent, and killed both himself and son. The father was fifty years of age, the son twenty-one. Their reign had lasted three years. Their army then joined that of

Maximus, and took the oath to the new emperors.

The news of the death of Maximinus and his son was brought to Rome whilst Balbinus, Gordian, and the people, were at the games. They rushed to the temples to return thanks to the gods; and Balbinus, who had always trembled at the very name of Maximinus, sacrificed a hundred victims at one time, and caused whole hecatombs to be offered up in every town throughout the empire. On the return of Maximus, he was received as if he had gained a victory, and the two emperors began to reign in concert; and whatever jealousy there might be between them, it was covered with the veil of prudence. Maximus was not beloved by the prætorian guards, who feared that he would restore discipline amongst them, as Severus had before treated their predecessors; or break them to put the body of Germans in their place, whom he had brought from his army of Aquileia, and who were greatly attached to him. These prætorians were no less prejudiced against Balbinus, whom they believed a party in this suspected design of Maximus; and, from this persuasion, determined to get rid both of the one and the other.

They fixed on a day when the greater part of the emperor's guards and attendants, attending at the capitoline games, had left them almost alone,

and then presented themselves in arms. Maximus wished to call in his Germans; but this Balbinus opposed, fearing it was an alarm raised only by his colleague, to deprive him of his authority by their means. During this altercation, the prætorian bands entered the palace, and dragging the emperors from thence, tore their robes, and covered them with blows. Learning as they were conducting them to their camp, that the Germans were hastening to their rescue, they in their fury massacred the unfortunate princes; and leaving their bodies in the street, brought out Gordian, whom they proclaimed emperor; whilst the Germans, who had no longer any thing to do, retired to their quarters, and Rome remained in peace.

This prince was entering his fourteenth year. Gordian the younger. His countenance was agreeable, and his disposition so gentle, that he was universally beloved. The senate called him their son, the people their favourite, and the soldiers their child. He united the qualities necessary to form an excellent prince, to a taste for the arts and sciences. But having no Mamæa for a mother, and necessarily wanting experience, he fell, in the beginning of his reign, into the hands of one Maurus, and some other artful and corrupted freed men, who abused his confidence and his youth. At fifteen, he married Tranquillina, daughter of Mithreus, whose birth and actions are conceal-

ed ; but in return, whose talents and virtues are known. Gordian had the good sense to give himself wholly up to the government of his father-in-law, to be guided by his counsels, and to raise him nearer to his rank, the more easily to profit by his instructions, by making him captain of his guards.

Gordian, under the tuition of his father-in-law, governed to the satisfaction of the empire; but unfortunately too soon lost this excellent man; who committed a capital error at his death, in giving his place of captain of the guards to Philip, whose courage he esteemed, and whose fidelity he did not distrust. Filled with the like confidence, the young emperor took him for his guide in his military operations against Sapor king of Persia. The perfidious counsellor engaged the army in difficult and painful marches, and caused various mistakes to be committed, the blame of which he had the art to throw on Gordian. From murmurs and complaints, the soldiers rose to demand what had been secretly insinuated to them by Philip, that he should be associated in the empire. To this Gordian consented; but the army preserved for him some remains of affection, which gave umbrage to the new emperor, and he had him killed in the confines of Persia. His assassins perished soon afterwards. He had lived

only nineteen years, out of which he had reigned nearly ten.

Philip was an Arab, whose father had been Philip, 243 chief of a band of robbers; that is, of one of those hordes who traverse Arabia, and seize the property of the traveller, because it is subject to their power. It is said, and it is not improbable, that Philip was a christian, and submitted to public penance, in atonement for the murder of Gordian. He was no sooner acknowledged emperor, than, in haste to be at Rome, he purchased peace of the Persians, by the cession of Armenia and Mesopotamia, which he afterwards retook. His government was signalized by acts of goodness and mildness, which did not, however, prevent revolts in different places. That of Pannonia appeared the most dangerous to the emperor; but he was deceived in the person he sent to appease it, as Gordian had been when he trusted to him. Decius, to whom he gave the charge of bringing back the rebels to their duty, suffered himself to be seduced by them, accepted the empire, and marched to Rome. The emperor advanced to give him battle, and was killed. As soon as the prætorian guards heard of his death, they massacred his son, a child of seven years old, whom he had nominated Cæsar, and put under their protection. Philip was fifty-seven years old, and had reigned

five years and four months. The christian religion increased greatly under his reign.

Decius, 249. It was natural that his successor Decius should look on the christians, whom Philip had protected, and who therefore regretted him, as subjects little to be relied on. And, in fact, the persecution of Decius is remarked as one of the most severe which christianity experienced. This prince was of Pannonia, where he was proclaimed emperor by his foldiers, whom the senate and people dared not oppose. As soon as he was invested with the purple, he declared his eldest son Cæsar; and soon after invested his three other sons with the same title. The young prince defeated the Goths against whom he was sent; but receiving afterwards a check, his father wished to avenge it. The Goths fought desperately. Young Decius signalized himself, and killed more than one enemy with his own hand; but being mortally wounded by an arrow, fell from his horse in the fight of the whole army. His father seeing him fall, cried out to his foldiers, "Companions, it is but one man, let not the loss discourage us." But he was himself killed, with two others of his sons, at fifty-five years of age, after a reign of two years and some months.

Gallus, Emilianus, 252. As if an emperor could only die by treachery, it was circulated that one of his principal of-

ficers, Gallus, having held a secret correspondence with the Goths, had advised Decius to a disadvantageous position, and informed the enemy of it, which caused his defeat and his death. If he was guilty of this treachery, he knew so well how to conceal it, that in reward for the sorrow he shewed at this disaster, the army proclaimed him emperor. He declared his son Valesian, Cæsar, married him to the daughter of Decius, and adopted the sole remaining one of his four sons. Gallus was an African, and had been always a warrior, which was his chief merit; yet he concluded a disgraceful peace with the Goths, that he might hasten to enjoy the pleasures of Rome. Æmilianus, the leader of the troops opposed to this nation, redeemed the honour of the empire. Proud of his success, he received the purple from the soldiers, and hastened to confront Gallus in Italy. His boldness succeeded. The soldiers of Gallus, despising this prince, immersed in pleasure, massacred both him and his son, after a reign of eighteen months, in the presence of Æmilianus and his army, and he was proclaimed emperor. But his power lasted a still shorter time; he was killed at the end of three or four months by his soldiers, to avoid, as they said, a civil war, on learning that they were near being attacked by an army raised for Gallus by Valerian, of whom they had a high opinion.

Valerian,
253.

When this army learnt the death of Gallus and his son, they placed their leader Valerian on the throne. He is one of those rare characters whom a single fact will delineate. Decius having been desirous of restoring the censorship, long since abolished at Rome, charged the senate with the choice of a person worthy of filling that office. The senators with one voice exclaimed, "Let Valerian be censor: let him who has no fault wherewith to reproach himself, ensure those of others." He was, however, a persecutor of the christians. Descended from one of the first families in Rome, he had acquitted himself with honour in the highest offices, both civil and military. His integrity, modesty, and prudence, endeared him to all; and had every individual in the empire had the power of choosing an emperor, all voices had united for Valerian. But the period was an unfortunate one. The Goths of every denomination invaded Mæsia, Thrace, and Macedon. The Persians, having crossed the Euphrates, laid waste Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia. The borderers on the banks of the Weser united in the defence of their liberty, and now first began to be known and feared by their incursions. Gallianus Cæsar, the son of Valerian, gained some advantages over the Germans. Other generals of this emperor likewise distinguished themselves; Aurelian against the Goths, and Probus against the Sarmatians and Quadi.

Valerian himself undertook the task of greatest difficulty, in making head against the Persians. Far from succeeding, notwithstanding his capacity and courage, he suffered the greatest misfortunes a prince can undergo. He was taken prisoner by Sapor, who treated him with indignity during his life, and causing him to be flayed at his death, ordered his skin to be suspended in a temple as an eternal monument of disgrace to the Romans. How long he lived in fetters is not known; but nothing in this wretched situation affected him so much as finding himself totally neglected by Gallienus. Whilst the greater part of foreign princes, those even who had assisted Sapor against the Romans, importuned him for the liberty of the brave and unfortunate emperor, this unnatural son took not any step in favour of so estimable a parent; apparently charmed with filling his throne, where he seated himself as soon as he heard of his captivity. Valerian had occupied it only seven years.

Reckoning every one who, during eight years ^{Gallienus,} that Gallienus reigned alone, assumed the purple, ^{260.} either with or against his own consent, we find them nineteen in number. Generals of the army—governors of provinces—sometimes mere governors of towns, caused themselves to be proclaimed. The rivals fought each other, fought, and were beaten. Their empire sometimes lasted a few months, sometimes a few days.

The people took part in the disputes. The country was ravaged ; the towns pillaged ; and all was usually ended by the massacre of the competitors and their adherents. Whilst the interior of the empire was thus in perpetual commotion, army against army, citizen against citizen, the barbarians forcing the frontiers, and spreading like an inundation, carried fire and sword every-where, and retired only when laden with booty, and bearing multitudes of captives into their forests. During the same period, as if every plague had united for the destruction of this unfortunate empire, the sky in several parts of it was covered with clouds, a dreadful obscurity followed by earthquakes and accompanied by thunder terrified the inhabitants. The earth opened and swallowed up the dwellings. Where mountains once stood, appeared immense lakes, and barren sands for cultivated fields. The sea overflowing its bounds destroyed several towns, whilst the destructive sword of pestilence originating from Egypt hung over Greece, Italy, and even Rome, which it heaped up with dead bodies. Such is the picture of the Roman empire under Gallienus, whose cruelties added still darker tint to its shades.

The first who was declared emperor was Ingenuus in Pannonia, a great general, extremely beloved both by the people and soldiery. Being conquered by the commanders of Gallienus, he

killed himself to avoid falling into the hands of that prince, with whose barbarity he was acquainted. Gallienus being no longer able to revenge himself against the leader who had thus withdrawn from his power, thus wrote to Celer the commander of his army : “ I shall not be contented, if you put to death those only who bore arms against me. I would have you exterminate all the males, young and old, in every town. Spare none who have wished me ill ; none who have spoken ill of me. Kill, cut in pieces, without pity ; you understand me : do as you know I should myself do. I write this to you with my own hand.” In conformity to these sanguinary orders, not a male was left alive in many towns.

Those who escaped this massacre, in their despair, raised up Regillianus in succession to Ingenuus, a descendent of the Dacian monarchs, an illustrious warrior, to whom another not less celebrated wrote thus, before his election : “ The republic is happy in times like these to have a general such as you. Gallienus would be congratulated on it if any one dare speak the truth, and blame or praise according to desert. There was a time when you would have been rewarded with a triumph ; but at present I would advise you to conquer with more precaution, and not to forget there is one to whom your virtues may give umbrage.” Thus,

under this tyrant, it was dangerous even to be useful to him. The terror he inspired so far affected the foldiers of Regillianus, that they affaffinated him, to obtain grace for the crime of having proclaimed him.

Gallienus had sent his fon Valerian into Germany, under the direction of Sylvanus his governor. The foldiers, offended that a child should be sent to command them, killed both pupil and tutor, and elected Posthumius emperor. This prince formed a noble kingdom for himself of the Gauls, Britain, and Spain. Moderation and virtue reigned there under his influence for seven years, when he became the martyr of them. He had taken Mentz, but would not abandon it to the plunder of the foldiers. Irritated with this refusal, they killed him and young Posthumius his fon.

It will be sufficient merely to name those who only tasted, in a manner, of fovereign authority under the reign of Gallienus. Macrianus reigned in Egypt, where civil commotions had reduced Alexandria to the most deplorable state. Dionysius, bishop of this city, relates, that “ so great were
“ the excesses of discord, that it was more easy
“ to travel from the east to the west, than from
“ Alexandria to Alexandria. No communication was maintained in it, but by letters,
“ which were with difficulty delivered. It was
“ less easy to pass the street in the midst of the

“ town, than to traverse the ocean and the
“ wildest desert. The port resembled the coasts
“ of the red sea when covered with the bodies
“ of the Egyptians. The sea was frequently
“ tinged with blood, and the Nile continually
“ filled with the bodies of the killed or the
“ drowned. Famine followed war, and was
“ succeeded by the most dreadful plague. The
“ latter carried off so great a number of its
“ inhabitants, that there were fewer then to be
“ found between fourteen and fourscore, than
“ usually between forty and sixty years of age.”
Should we detract from this account what appears exaggerated, there will still enough remain to give a most afflicting idea of the state to which a great city may be reduced by opposing factions.

Against Macrianus arose Valens, and to him Macrianus opposed Piso. Piso taking the title of emperor was killed by Valens, and lamented by his murderer, who said aloud, “ What account shall I render the gods of the death of Piso !” The senate bestowed on him this remarkable eulogium, “ that never was there a better man.” Valens, who had himself assumed the purple, was not long before he gave his account, as well as Macrianus, who had impelled him to the action. Saturninus, a rigid general, finding himself placed forcibly on the throne, said to his troops: “ You lose a good captain, and make a bad prince.”

As he predicted, he was deficient in policy, attempted to restore discipline, and was assassinated. Æmilianus then received the crown of Egypt in the place of Macrianus : him Theodotus, Gallienus's general, sent to the emperor, by whose order he was strangled. Balista, another usurper of the Egyptian throne, was killed. Celsus, a man of great merit, proclaimed in Africa, reigned but seven days, and ended like the others. Marius, a mere adventurer, enthroned at Mentz, endured only three : he had been preceded by Lollianus, and Victorinus and his son, and was followed by Tetricus, as unsuccessful as himself.

The only competitor of Gallienus, who lived in good understanding with him, was Odenatus, whom he adopted as his colleague ; in all probability, because he wanted his support. He was originally from Palmyra, a city of Phœnicia, whose magnificent ruins still bear testimony to its grandeur, and is by some represented as a citizen and magistrate only, by others as a prince. He appears to have been the most celebrated man of a city, perhaps, enriched by commerce, as were latterly the Medicis of Florence. Sapor, the Persian monarch, was so impolitic as to reject, even with contempt, the offer of Odenatus to join him against the Romans. Thus repulsed, he took the contrary side, that of the Romans against Sapor, who never had a more bitter or

more dangerous enemy. His exploits, which were highly advantageous to Gallienus, and which might have enabled him to assume the imperial power even without his consent, induced that emperor to divide it with him. He maintained that honour even till his death, the time and manner of which is unknown; after which his widow Zenobia, under the title of queen of the east, governed that part of the empire which had been allotted to her husband.

Some are of opinion that the same policy which induced Gallienus to grant a portion of the empire to Odenatus, determined him also to the same step with regard to Aureolus; an able general, who had served him with zeal and success against his first rival, Ingenuus. Others believe him to have been only an highly favoured commander, to whom the exercise of a part of the imperial power gave a desire of possessing the whole. He advanced into Italy from Illyricum, where he was stationed, and was defeated. Gallienus blockaded Milan, when four of his captains, unable longer to support his tyranny, raised a false alarm in the camp during the night, and, in the tumult, killed him, with his sons and two brothers, in the thirty-fifth year of his age and fifteenth of his reign. The soldiers, convinced that he had been assassinated, mutinied; but were reduced to order by the distribution of twenty pieces of gold per man out of his own

treasury: Gallienus never marching without a considerable sum with him. The conspirators then proposed Claudius to the army, as a man most fitting to support the Roman name and dignity. In whatever execration the name of Gallienus may deserve to be held on account of his cruelties, which we have only hinted at, he was deified by the senate at the same time that they caused his ministers and confidants to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock. He had never given any office to the senators, nor even suffered one to appear in his camp. He is said to have been debauched, superstitious, indolent, and indifferent as to every thing but the support of his authority, and the enjoyment of his pleasures. He was attached to literature, and was himself both a good poet and orator; but one of the worst of emperors.

When the senators were informed of the election of Claudius, they said: "They had always wished to have him for their emperor, or some one like him." His ancestry was not known; but he was no sooner emperor, than the genealogists deduced his line from Dardanus and the Trojans. The first days of his reign were signalized by the defeat and death of Aureolus. Claudius came to Rome to regulate the affairs of government, which were in the greatest confusion. An irruption of the Goths and northern nations forced him to hasten to

Mœsia to make head against them. He wrote to the senate: "Conscript fathers, I am in fight of the enemy and ready to fight them. They have to the amount of three hundred thousand men. Should I conquer, I calculate on your gratitude: but if success does not answer my hopes, remember, at least, that the battle took place after the reign of Gallienus."

The account he gave of his army gave more reason to fear than hope. "We have," said he, "neither lance, sword, or buckler! Our archers are, to our disgrace, detained by Zenobia: in such circumstances, the smallest success is glorious." It was more considerable than he had ventured to expect. Claudius himself gives this description of it: "We have totally defeated an army of three hundred thousand Goths, and destroyed their fleet of two thousand sail. The fields are covered with arms and dead, and we have taken so many prisoners, that without reckoning the men, every soldier will have four women to his share." All the provinces of the empire sent to the camp, as to a market, for slaves; but either through the neglect of interring the dead, or from other reasons, the plague broke out in the army, and seized on Claudius, who died of it. His brother, Quintillus, whom a party of the troops raised to his place, remained in it only seventeen days, being massacred by the soldiers,

who feared his severity. Some authors say, that hearing of the election of Aurelian by another part of the army, he caused his veins to be opened. He is spoken of as a man equal to his brother.

Aurelian,
270.

The description of the celebrated triumph of Aurelian after the victory obtained over the Goths, Germans, and Vandals, and more particularly over Zenobia, may be presented as the most glorious point in the life of this emperor. He is supposed to have been born in Pannonia, from an obscure origin. Doubtless, when the diadem bound his brow which he first wore of the Roman emperors, flattery bestowed on him, as on Claudius, an honourable genealogy. He was famous for his uncommon strength and courage. He killed, in one battle, forty-eight barbarians with his own hand; and, in various rencounters, nine hundred and fifty. He was taught by the Marcomanni the impolicy of rendering an enemy desperate. He had conquered them, and they sued for peace on equitable conditions, which he refused, thinking to cut off their retreat. But, instead of turning with dejected steps toward the army of Aurelian to regain their own country as he expected, they took their course toward Italy, and it was not till after two bloody battles and mutual carnage that the emperor was able to preserve Rome from the fury of the barbarians.

The widow of Odenatus, Zenobia, having succeeded to the rights of her husband, was in possession of Armenia and Syria, to which, under Claudius, she had also added Egypt: she made pretensions to be descended from its Cleopatras and its Ptolemies. It is not known whether she brought the principality of Palmyra to Odenatus, or received it from him; but she had at least a share in his victories, and was esteemed neither less courageous, or less able, than her husband. At his death she invested three sons, their mutual offspring, with the purple; and as they were minors governed in their name. Wise in council, firm in resolves, generous and equitable, yet severe when necessary; she fulfilled all the duties of a great prince, and a great general. Sometimes clothed in the imperial purple, with a helmet on her head, she marched at the head of her troops. In imitation of the Roman emperors, she often gave magnificent repasts to her army; and, though usually very temperate, could on such occasions drink as deeply as her officers. She understood several languages, and was perfectly versed in oriental history, of which she made an abridgement, held in estimation by the learned.

Aurelian, in his march against Zenobia, was delayed by the city of Tyana; and exasperated at the resistance of its inhabitants, swore not to leave a dog alive in it. A traitor, named Heraclam-

mon, delivered up to him one of the city gates. When he had entered, the soldiers, in expectation of a rich spoil, reminded him of his threat. But whether through benevolence, or deference to the prayers of Apollonius Tyranæus, whom he believed he had seen in a dream entreating him to spare his fellow-citizens, he forbade any injury to be done to them. The soldiers persisted: "Well, then," said he, "kill all the dogs; I give you leave." The soldiers themselves could not but approve his clemency. As to Heraclammon, he wrote as follows concerning him to one of his friends: "I have taken Tyana, and suffered that he by whose good offices I am become master of the place should be cut to pieces by my soldiers. The rest of the inhabitants have been spared; but the traitor appeared to me to deserve his death. What right had I to reckon on the fidelity of a man who had betrayed his country? He was rich, but his wealth I have given to his children, that no one may have it in their power to accuse me of putting him to death to appropriate his wealth for myself."

Zenobia, vigorously attacked, suffered the fate which every state, defended only by a mercenary force, without an extended territory, must undergo. A single victory on the part of Aurelian shut her up within the walls of Palmyra, her capital, and perhaps only town. She defended

herself in it valiantly. "The quantity of darts
"and stones she pours upon us," writes the
emperor, "is incredible; she leaves us not a
"moment's rest, day or night." He wrote to
her to engage her to surrender; to which she
imprudently answered, she reckoned on the
Armenians and Syrians advancing to her succour.
The emperor sent to meet these unexpected
auxiliaries and gained them. But Zenobia, not
yet despairing, sallied from Palmyra to seek for
others. Aurelian informed of this, took her
prisoner, and when brought before him, asked
her how she could have the boldness to confront
herself with the emperors of Rome. She an-
swered him with mingled spirit and address:
"You I look upon as a real emperor, but for
"Gallienus, and such as resemble him, I never
"thought them worthy of so honourable a title;
"or that I was any way forbidden to try my force
"with theirs." Palmyra surrendered on the
news of its queen being taken, and Aurelian
placed in it a strong garrison, and took Zenobia
with him to Rome.

His triumph opened by three cars: the first,
which had been that of Odenatus, was covered
with gold, silver, and precious stones: the next,
equally rich, was the king of Persia's present to
the emperor: the third was that of Zenobia.
The emperor followed in a fourth, taken by his
own hand from a Gothic prince, and drawn by

four flags. He was preceded by twenty elephants and wild beasts of different countries; by fifteen hundred gladiators; an incredible number of captives, Goths, Alans, Roxolani, Franks, Sarmatians, Vandals, Germans, Arabs, Indians, Bactrians, Iberians, Saracens, Armenians, Persians, Palmyrenians, and Egyptians; and ten female Goths who were taken in battle fighting and equipt like men. After these followed Zenobia, who, by her uncommon beauty, her majestic person, and noble air, fixed the eyes of all beholders. She was bound with chains of gold, whose weight her women supported, and so laden with pearls and diamonds that she was frequently obliged to stop and rest. The victorious legions, both of cavalry and infantry, marched after the emperor, bearing crowns of laurel in their hands. Zenobia is heard of no more but in the praises bestowed on the generosity of Aurelian, who gave her lands round Tibur, now Tivoli, where she lived quietly in the manner due to her rank.

Aurelian bestowed great donations on the people; and what was much preferable, he established the laws, and restored order in every department of government. He could not do this without meeting with much oppositon, which degenerated even into faction: but his firmness triumphed over it. He forbade adultery under the severest penalties, and the keeping concu-

bines, if any other than slaves. He restored every thing due to the public treasury, punished informers, and granted a general amnesty: which last, however, he does not appear to have extended to the christians, whom he persecuted. He gave way to severity in the punishment of crimes which even his panegyrist have blamed, and the fear his inflexibility inspired was the cause of his death.

Suspecting Mnestheus, his secretary, of some malpractices, he threatened to punish him; and punishment usually followed close upon his threats. This man, who probably knew himself to be guilty, resolved to be beforehand with the emperor. With this intention, he forged his handwriting, and drew out a list of the principal officers of his army, which Aurelian then led against the Persians, not forgetting to put his own name at the head. He shewed this to the pretended proscribed as having fallen into his hands by chance; and nothing less than the sentence of death on those implicated in it. The traitor was believed; and during the march of the army, whilst the emperor followed with a small escort, they fell on him and killed him, at sixty-three years of age, after a reign of three years. The treachery was soon discovered, and the traitor thrown to the wild beasts. The soldiers cut in pieces all engaged in this crime, and there was an emulation between the army and the senate,

who should most honour the funeral of this excellent emperor.

Another kind of emulation took place between these two bodies in referring to each other the choice of an emperor, which mark of confidence three times reciprocated, neither being willing to yield in civility to the other; and they remained, therefore, eight months in a state of inaction on this point. The public opinion was in the mean time formed, and their choice appeared to rest on Tacitus; a man of good morals, naturally gentle, a lover of letters as a descendant of the famous historian of that name, and a great admirer of the ancient simplicity of the Romans. When he found the wishes of the people turned on him, he retired to the country, but could not avoid from time to time appearing in the senate, of which he was a member. On a day agreed on amongst the senators, when he rose to give his opinion, they cried with one voice, " Tacitus, we hail you emperor. To you we give the care of the government of the whole world. Accept the empire, which by your character, your rank, and your past conduct, you deserve."

Tacitus wished to excuse himself on account of his age, which was seventy-five years: but he was answered, that others had been elected in their old age, and governed nevertheless very well. " We want an emperor, and not a sol-

“dier in body or mind. You have a brother
“who is of an age to relieve you; make use of
“him for that purpose.” Tacitus yielded to
persuasion, and himself signed the decree for his
elevation; which was received with the greatest
applause both by the people and soldiers. But
no joy equalled that of the senate. The con-
script fathers ordered public processions and he-
catombs; entertained themselves and their
friends; and wrote into all the provinces that
they had recovered the right of electing their
emperors, with all their ancient privileges; and
that to them in future, both subjects and kings
must address themselves on their affairs. But
this agreeable illusion lasted but a short time.
Tacitus died at the end of six months;—a time
long enough to make him uncommonly regret-
ted. Florianus, his brother, who had been point-
ed out for his assistant, was willing to take the
charge of the empire. He was recognized as
emperor by Europe and Asia, and doubtless by
the senate; but the armies disposed otherwise of
the sovereign authority.

There was in the east a man to whom Ta-^{Probus, 276.}
citus, knowing his capacity, had entrusted the
government and the forces of that part of the
empire. He was a great general, and an ex-
cellent statesman; generous, affable, equitable,
an enemy to vice, and, in short, possessing
in the greatest perfection the qualities implied

in his name, Probus, a man of probity. He was the son of a gardener, who afterwards turned soldier. A soldier himself, he passed through every gradation, and attained the empire at forty years of age. The unfortunate Florianus wished to try his strength with him; but his soldiers, when they found themselves in the presence of Probus, massacred him whom they looked upon as incapable of holding the government, and passed over to the side of the person they thought more worthy of it. The senate approved the election, which was found suitable to the circumstances in which the empire then stood, threatened as it was with approaching invasions.

The whole life of Probus had been passed in combating the barbarians, and the emperor fulfilled those hopes to which the success of the general had given rise. He began with the Germans; and his own modest account of his victory must have been flattering to the senate. "Conscript fathers," he wrote to them, "Germania, that vast country, is subdued. Nine kings of different nations have prostrated themselves at my feet, or rather at yours. It is for you that all the barbarians now till and sow. Give thanks, then, to the gods for so great a victory. Four hundred thousand men have been cut to pieces; sixteen thousand have joined our troops. We have retaken sixty

" great towns; and I send the gold crowns these
" towns have presented me, that they may be
" consecrated to the gods. We have not only
" recovered the spoil the barbarians had taken,
" but we have even enriched ourselves with
" theirs. Their cattle till the fields of Gaul;
" their flocks are in our pastures. Our maga-
" zines contain their corn; in a word, we have
" left them their lands alone." A worthy fruit
of labour and conquest, which scatters devasta-
tion and ruin over nations to enrich a few idle
citizens!

Probus conquered the Burgundians and Van-
dals; and took prisoners their kings and the
flower of their nobility, whom he treated ho-
nourably. He formed corps from the conquered
nations, which he sent out to subjugate and
check other countries. Thus, by detachments
of these Vandals and Burgundians, he subdued
the Britons, and kept them under his dominion.
The Goths of Thrace sought peace of him. The
freebooters were driven from Isauria, and their
lands divided among the veterans, on condition
that they sent their sons at eighteen years of age
to serve in the Roman armies. From Europe, Pro-
bus passed into Asia; where he forced the Per-
sians to sue for peace, as the Goths had already
done; and carried the glory of his arms into
Ethiopia, and the most remote nations of Asia,

with whose new countenances he astonished the Romans in his triumph.

Notwithstanding these successes, he was not without rivals: but it is to be remarked, that circumstances rather than ambition gave rise to them. Saturninus, an able general, had received the command of the eastern frontier from Aurelian, with an express prohibition against going into Egypt. Some say he was a native of Mauritania; others, with more probability, of Gaul. The Gauls were at that time reckoned ambitious, and the Egyptians factious, and lovers of novelty. It is thought that these reasons, or these prejudices, gave rise to the restriction given to Saturninus. He was seized with curiosity. The soldiers immediately proclaimed him emperor. He fled to Palestine; but the fear of being punished for an involuntary rebellion, made him raise the standard of revolt. Probus would not give credit to the report. He wrote to him to recal him to his duty; and Saturninus would willingly have yielded to his representations, had not his soldiers opposed his submission, notwithstanding his prayers and tears. It became necessary to send an army against him, though they experienced little trouble in conquering one who defended himself contrary to his inclination. After being beaten, Saturninus was blocked up in the small citadel of Apamea, which

was taken by assault; and he with the whole garrison were put to the sword; much to the emperor's regret, who wished to preserve the life of the involuntary rebel.

Proculus in Gaul, the son of a robber, and a robber himself, at the instigation of his wife, a woman as courageous as ambitious, was proclaimed emperor at Cologne. He met with some support in his enterprize; but at length being subdued, retired among the Franks, who gave him up to the emperor, and he was put to death. Bonofus, of Spanish descent, though born in Britain, after having kept school, arrived, through all the military gradations, at the rank of commander on the borders of the Rhine. He had the misfortune to suffer the fleet which the Romans maintained on that river to be surprized and burnt. Certain that the purple alone could exempt him from punishment, he assumed it; and defended it much longer than Probus expected; till at length, reduced to extremity, he strangled himself. He had the art of drinking as much as ten other men without being intoxicated. By the influence of Aurelian, he had espoused Hunila, a princess of the blood-royal of the Goths, that he might be connected with that nation; and make himself master of their secrets by drinking with them. Hunila was sensible, handsome, and virtuous. Probus treated her honourably; and settled a pension both on

her and her children. A governor of Britain, whose name historians have not transmitted to us, gave the emperor some apprehensions as to his fidelity. These he communicated to one of the friends of the suspected governor. The confidant set off for Britain, under the pretence of converting his friend. He was well received by him, and assassinated him in the night. We are not told whether Probus approved this piece of treachery. The Gauls are particularly indebted to this emperor. He planted the vine amongst them, extended its culture, and rendered it free, which was before forbidden and circumscribed. It was in Gaul he employed his soldiers, whom he kept continually occupied during peace in all sorts of useful works. "Since they are supported by the public, for the public," said he, "they should fight or labour." During the short time which this prince reigned, he built or repaired seventy towns. Sirmium, where he was born, is reckoned amongst them. He caused the marshes, by which it was surrounded, to be drained; and raised a dyke to withstand the inundations to which it was exposed. These toils, which seemed to the soldiers less for the public than himself, displeased them. They attacked him whilst superintending them. He had time to take refuge in a small town, from which he used to overlook them whilst at work. There the enraged soldiers pursued him. He

defended it alone. They then carried it by assault, and massacred him, after a reign of six years and a half, at about fifty years of age. This prince was extremely lamented, even by the barbarians; who, though they feared his valour, revered his probity, clemency, and justice. The following short epitaph was inscribed on his tomb: "Here lies the emperor Probus, whose life and whose morals corresponded with his name."

Carus, his captain of the guard, succeeded him, and was acknowledged by the senate. His birth is unknown; but he called himself a Roman. He at least approached to old age, as he had sons sufficiently advanced in life to have known and decided characters: the one, Carinus, brutal and cruel; the other, Numerianus, gentle and humane. Carus associated them both in the empire. The former, who had assisted him in a great victory over the Sarmatians, he sent to continue, at a distance from him, his exploits on the Danube. The second he took with him in his attempt against the Persians; and falling sick, one of his secretaries thus relates his death: "Whilst our beloved prince lay ill in his tent, a dreadful tempest arose; and day was on a sudden displaced by night. The thunder roared in the most dreadful manner; when, after a stroke more terrible than the preceding, a cry was heard, the emperor is dead. A short

Carus, Carinus, Numerianus, 282.

“ time afterward, in the shock caused by his death, his chamberlain set fire to his tent.” The secretary remarks, that this fire induced some to believe that he was killed by the thunder; and others, that he was assassinated. He himself certifies that he died of disease.

But the fate of his son Numerianus, who was immediately acknowledged emperor, gives us reason to suppose he was surrounded with traitors in his household, by whose hands he fell, since Numerianus met with a murderer in his own family. This prince was so greatly affected by the death of his father, that he shed so many tears that his eyes became too weak to bear the day-light. He used therefore to be carried in a closed litter. His father-in-law, named Aper, which signifies a boar, thinking this a favourable opportunity for taking his son-in-law's place, assassinated him in his litter. But he proved an impolitic villain; since by suffering the corpse to be carried three days before he had decided how to act, the smell from within betrayed his crime. The army, on being informed of it, nominated Diocletian; also captain of the guard to Numerian. It is worthy remark, that Carus and Diocletian, both captains of the guard, were put in the place of their masters, whom they had not defended. Diocletian caused the traitor Aper to be brought before him. A Gaulish druidess had

foretold, that after killing a boar, he should be emperor. In consequence of the prediction, at all the hunts he took part in, Diocletian killed as many boars as possible. But as the prophesy remained unfulfilled, he would say to his friends: "I kill the boars, and others have the benefit." In the present conjuncture, having reproached Aper with the murder of his prince and his son-in-law, he descended from his seat, and plunging the sword in his breast, said aloud, "I have at length killed the fatal boar!" Carinus, who might have caused him much disturbance, and who had even gained a battle against him on the banks of the Danube, perished by the hands of a tribune, whose wife he had seduced. Carus reigned only one year and four months; and about the same interval elapsed before Diocletian was relieved from Carinus.

At this period of history we are presented with the extraordinary spectacle of two friends on the throne; of two emperors, who having each adopted a Cæsar, abdicated the throne; and of two Cæsars, who on becoming emperors, associated two others with them in the purple. In this confusion of powers, historians are as much embarrassed to continue the thread of events, as the people were to know which they should obey. The celebrated Diocletian, the father of a dynasty, not of race but of power, was the son of a Dalmatian slave; and was himself

Diocletian
and Maxi-
mian, 285.

the slave of a senator, from whom he received his liberty. By passing through the military offices, which were then the gradations to the throne, he succeeded in placing himself there. He was well acquainted with civil proceedings; and though naturally violent, could foresee future events, and concert his plans with perfect self-command. He detested useless expense, but was a protector of the sciences—a circumstance not a little surprizing in a man who had had no education but in a camp; and never applied to any art but the military one, which he was as perfectly acquainted with as the greatest commanders of antiquity.

Soon after his accession to the throne, he called his friend Maximian to partake it with him. His birth was not superior to that of Diocletian, except perhaps only in his not being born in slavery. He was of Sirmius, a small town of Pannonia, and following arms from his early youth had signalized himself by various actions, and was reckoned one of the greatest generals of his time. He is represented as being wicked and cruel; but his courage and talents for war, as well as his inviolable attachment to Diocletian, are allowed on all hands. The latter had only one daughter, named Valeria. Maximian by his wife Eutropia, by birth a Syrian, had a son and a daughter, named Maxentius and Fausta. Eutropia had by a former husband a daughter, named

Theodora. It is believed that the two emperors tacitly divided the empire ; Diocletian reserving the eastern part of it to himself, and allotting to Maximian the western.

To govern the latter was the most difficult task, and Maximian gloriously fulfilled it. He defeated two generals who had caused themselves to be declared emperors in Gaul, and obliged the Germans to return within their boundary. But he could not prevent the unfolding the imperial standard by Carausius in Britain, where he formed a navy that supported his power. In the mean time, Diocletian was not idle. He subdued the Sarmatians, and united under his power the Dacians and other neighbouring nations. After these various exploits, the two emperors met at Milan. On observing what took place after this interview, it would appear that they had conferred together on the then critical state of the empire, which was threatened on all sides ; and that in consequence of foreseeing the difficulty of resisting the assaults meditated upon it, they had resolved each of them to take an assistant under the title of Cæsar. Diocletian chose for his, Galerius, from a family obscure as his own ; and Maximian, Constantius Chlorus, allied, through the Claudian line, to the best houses of Rome. The two Cæsars each repudiated their wives : Galerius espoused Va-

leria the daughter of Diocletian, and Constantius the daughter-in-law of Maximian, Theodora.

This increase of masters became a great weight to the empire, since in lieu of one court there were now four to be supported. In proportion, and even beyond the proportion of new wants, new taxes were levied; and the more difficulty there was in extorting them, the greater was the number of persons employed in their levy, an evil which becomes itself a tax, and renders all others more burthenfome. Italy itself, which had till then been spared, experienced the stigmata of the exchequer, and groaned like the provinces under the rod of the extortioner.

Diocletian had made a disadvantageous choice in fixing on Galerius as Cæsar. Raised from the state of a cow-herd, and passing through the usual military gradations, he still retained too much of his origin. He was clownish, gross in his manners, and an enemy to men of letters. In his actions, and even in his manner, there was something of cunning more likely to inspire terror and averfion, than to conciliate affection and esteem. Constantius was endowed with all the opposite virtues; to which he united an equal, if not superior, ability in arms to his colleague. Of this ability he gave proof in the Gauls, where he gained feveral victories; but still further in Britain, having conquered Allectus,

who after assassinating Carausius usurped there the empire which had been bestowed on him. Constantius conciliated the affection of the Britons by his conduct. Of all the cities of Gaul he shewed a particular regard for Autun, which he ornamented with aqueducts, baths, and other buildings. He performed these various acts sometimes in company with Maximian, sometimes at a distance from him, when the emperor was employed in repelling other enemies on the frontiers, or in making new conquests.

Diocletian and Galerius in the east divided in like manner their military operations. The emperor, whilst employed in subduing the Moors of Africa, dispatched the Cæsar against the Persian monarch Narses, who had made an irruption in Mesopotamia. Galerius having risked an action with a small number of troops was conquered, and hastened back to Diocletian, hoping for consolation and succour. This prince, who was taking the air in his camp on the arrival of Galerius, suffered him, habited in the purple, to accompany his car a considerable way on foot, without making room for him in it. Galerius, instead of being discouraged by this affront, was inspired with the most ardent desire of effacing the disgrace of his defeat. In this he succeeded beyond all expectation; routing a considerable army with a body of only twenty-five thousand men: he killed more than twenty thousand;

took an immense booty, and innumerable prisoners, amongst whom were the wives, sisters, and children, both sons and daughters, of the Persian monarch, with several other persons of the first distinction. Narses thought himself fortunate in being allowed to ransom them by the cession of several provinces.

In proportion as Galerius had been humiliated by his defeat, was he now elevated by his victory. He assumed from it an authority in the government which attained its utmost pitch through the weakness of Diocletian. This prince, now far advanced in years, but ill supported the burthen of empire. Public misfortunes harassed him; whilst private ills not only injured his tranquillity, but disturbed his reason, in which an illness had at first caused some derangement. He often started, and imagined he saw the thunder falling from heaven. The christians attributed his terrors to the vengeance of Providence, for the persecution he had made them undergo. It is thought that Galerius irritated his disorder; and he is even suspected of having twice set fire to the palace of Nicomedia, in which the emperor resided, in order wholly to overthrow his understanding, already much shaken. A bodily disease, joined to that of his mind, proved so severe, that he was even believed to be dead; and on appearing again in public, he was so greatly altered, that scarcely could the people

recognize their emperor. In this state, Galerius advised him to give up the government. Whether this were a simple proposal, or whether it were accompanied with prayers or threats, is not easy to decide; but this surrender of power appears to have been voluntary, since Maximian, who was not urged by similar reasons of age and weakness, determined on the same step. Historians assure us, that the two emperors had mutually promised to abdicate the throne together.

They kept their words; for in the same day that Diocletian quitted the purple at Nicomedia, Maximian gave up his at Milan. The two Cæsars, Galerius and Constantius, when become emperors, chose each a Cæsar, as had been before agreed on. Diocletian nominated them, though only in compliance with the imperious choice of Galerius, who rejected both Maxentius the son of Maximian, and Constantine the son of Constantius. He chose Maximin, his sister's son; and Severus, who was devoted to him, but who was no way related to either of the imperial families. Diocletian, after his abdication, retired to his native country, Dalmatia; and chose the town of Salona for his abode, where he erected a magnificent palace.

In this peaceable retreat, he tasted the delight of enjoying the gifts of nature; and was

many times heard to say : “ Now it is I live ;
“ now I see the beauty of the sun.” He amused
himself in the culture of a small garden : and be-
ing urged in a time of commotion to resume the
imperial power, he answered those who made
the solicitation : “ I wish you could come to Sa-
lona, where I could shew you the cabbages of
“ my own planting ; and after seeing them, you
“ would, I am sure, talk to me no more of em-
“ pire.” Something more than suspicion is ne-
cessary to induce a belief, that a man so ex-
pressing himself should die with regret at having
changed his sceptre for a spade, or that he poison-
ed himself from pure vexation—nor have we
on this head the opinions of any but those who
think the love of greatness incurable—to support
it. Diocletian was eighty years old ; a time
when neither vexation nor poison is necessary to
bring life to its period. The princes who reign-
ed after him respected him in his retreat as their
common father, to whom they owed their ele-
vation. He reigned only twenty years and some
months. Notwithstanding his wars, he perform-
ed many useful acts, enacted several salutary
laws, and punished informers. He loved to en-
courage virtue, he hated vice, and was econo-
mical of the public purse. His taste for archi-
tecture embellished several towns ; and almost
all his buildings bear on them the stamp of im-

mortality. The hand of time has not yet effaced it from their ruins, which still delight our eyes and our imagination.

In the Roman empire, at first as a monarchy, and afterwards as a republic, with its consuls and the tribunes their antagonists; the people, and the senate in counterpoise; its regulating power of dictator; its great men; its enthusiasm for glory; its religion, which from the respect of the people, the pomp of its ceremonies, its festivals and sacrifices, had made a part of the government in this empire;—whose motion, like that of a vast machine, once given, was justly preserved by the various powers employed to abate the violence of its friction, and the shocks it might undergo: it was agreeable to contemplate the action and reaction which maintained its equilibrium, and which were given by those extraordinary men, the Fabii, the Meteli, the Paulus Emiliuses, the Gracchi, and so many others, whose contrasted passions and virtues were the movers of so many great events.

*Cæſar and
Conſtantius,
305.*

To this majestic organization ſucceeded the diſorder introduced by the predominating ambition of the Mariuſes, the Syllas, the Pompeys, and the almoſt total deſtruction brought on by Cæſar. Yet this emperor and his ſucceſſors preſerved the forms of a republican adminiſtration, the ſenate, and the magiſtrates; but, under the ſhadow of theſe forms, they became maſters; and

the will of one man regulated, conducted, and ordered all things. At length these forms became but an empty name; and from that moment the history of the empire is no longer any thing but the history of the court of successive princes, and the intrigues of their courtiers, mixed with civil and foreign wars, which still give it an air of grandeur in its decline.

The empire was divided between the two emperors and the two Cæsars. Galerius received Illyricum, Pannonia, Thrace, Macedon, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Judea, and all the other eastern provinces. Constantius had Gaul, Italy, Africa, Spain, and Britain; out of which he yielded Italy and Africa to Severus. Maximinus, the nephew of Galerius, was a young boor, educated, as his uncle had been, by a coarse mother, in the following of flocks; and whose roughness of character no way derogated from his origin. Severus, whose birth is unknown, was of mature age, and had always professed a sincere attachment to Galerius, for whose friend he passed; but it was one of those supple friends who see only through the eyes of those they serve. Galerius had chosen him in expectation of the same submission which he received from his nephew Maximinus. Nothing was wanting to render this emperor sole and absolute master of the empire, but the government of Constantius; and though he could not flatter himself with the

expectation of that, yet the weak health of that prince, gave him room to hope he should soon be relieved from this troublesome colleague. He, besides, kept Constantine, the son of Constantius, near him, as a kind of hostage, if not for the submission, at least for the tractability of his father.

Constantius was in reality a troublesome colleague to an emperor desirous rather of being feared than loved; since he on the contrary rather wished to govern by love than fear. And in this endeavour, the following circumstance shews that he succeeded. Diocletian being informed that Constantius was inattentive in filling the public treasury, sent to reprove him for this neglect. The Cæsar intreated those charged with these remonstrances to return to him in a few days; during which interval, he sent notice to the richest inhabitants of the provinces, that he was in want of money, and that it depended on them only on the present occasion to show whether they loved their prince or not. This message produced an almost incredible effect; so great was the number of citizens who pressed to bring their gold or silver to the treasury, with which it was soon filled. Constantius then solicited the deputies to return, and re-examine it; and whilst they viewed the heaps of wealth with astonishment, this prince said to them: "All you see has long since been mine; but I had left it in trust

“ in the hands of my people.” He then returned the whole to the various depositors ; well assured of possessing it whenever it should be necessary. For he believed and said, that the richest and securest treasury of every prince is the love of his subjects.

If he were not himself a christian, far from persecuting, he esteemed those who were ; and whilst they were harassed by his colleague, caused it to be made known to the officers of his household, and the governors of provinces, that he left them at liberty to give up their religion, or their stations. Those who adhered in preference to their religion, he treated with distinction, trusting to them the guard of his person, and the administration of his affairs ; whilst he withdrew his confidence from those who deserted it, and loaded them with the severest reproaches. “ Whoever,” said he to them, “ forsakes his “ God, will not scruple to forsake his prince.” His palace was filled with christians : and even his wife, Helena, or Helen, the celebrated mother of Constantine, was a christian. There is no doubt but she early instilled the same principles into her son ; and the seed, deposited in no ungrateful soil, afterwards bore its proper fruit.

Galerius beheld with jealous eyes the first dawnings of the worth of Constantine ; for no prince ever promised more. His noble manners and majestic form, united to a conduct the most

irreproachable, and a disposition which was gentle, generous, and affable to all, gained him so far the affections of the people and soldiery, that all united in wishing one day to see him emperor. It has been conjectured, by the dangers to which Galerius necessarily exposed him, that he wished to be rid of him, at the same time that he retained him near his person, without suffering him to join his father, under pretence of affection to him. Being at length obliged to yield to the pressing solicitations of the son, he suffered him to set off from Numidia, where they were together, to join his father in Gaul; but at the same time dispatched a courier to Severus, with orders to arrest the young prince in his passage through Italy. Constantine, however, by setting out twenty-four hours before the time allotted by the emperor, got the start, which he kept, by killing or disabling all the post-horses on his road. Galerius wept with rage at the news of his escape; and caused him to be pursued, but in vain. Constantine joined his father in safety, whom by some he is said to have found expiring; whilst others believe him to have assisted Constantius, and signalized himself in the war in Britain. Be this as it will, immediately on the death of this prince, which soon happened, Constantine was elected emperor by the soldiers. He espoused Fausta, a daughter of the emperor Maximian, though not by the same wife as Max-

entius, to whom, at the instigation of Galerius, the title of Cæsar allotted to him by Diocletian had been refused, and bestowed by that emperor on Severus and Maximinus in his stead.

Constantine,
3^{co}.

When Maxentius, who was at Rome, received there the information of Constantine's elevation to the empire, as he was son to Maximian, and son-in-law to Galerius, he believed himself entitled to assume the purple. In consequence of his promises, the prætorian guards proclaimed him emperor, and the senate and people acknowledged him, though less out of any regard to Maxentius, than through hatred to Galerius, who remained in the delightful countries of Asia, without condescending even to visit Rome. Maxentius was proud, cruel, and deformed; the slave of every vice, and detested not only by the friends of his father, but by his father himself. Yet what will not ambition do. Maximian, notwithstanding his hatred for a son so detestable, and whom he had even reason to believe supposititious, as such was the general opinion, yet weary of solitude, returned to Rome to divide the throne with him. Galerius sent orders to Severus to oppose a measure he termed a rebellion. The father and son ventured to meet him, gained the victory, and took Severus prisoner; to whom they allowed, as a favour, the liberty of opening his veins.

Galerius, who arrived too late to the aid of

Severus, found himself on the eve of suffering a like fate with him. The two emperors having gained over a part of his foldiers, he esteemed himself fortunate to escape with the remainder to his department. The father and son, who should have thought only of pursuing him, disagreed ; and Maximian endeavoured to displace Maxentius : but failing in the attempt, he went first to his son-in-law Constantine, and afterwards to Galerius, to raise them against his son. All his endeavours, however, proving unavailing, he remained near Constantine, determined, as he said, to resume his peaceable life, and interfere no more with public affairs. But under this apparent self-denial were perfidiously concealed the blackest designs.

The war which Constantine then carried on against the Franks was pursued with the utmost severity; no quarter was allowed, and the soldiers who were taken prisoners were massacred, and generals and even kings thrown to the wild beasts. The emperor, on the eve of being again attacked on the side of Arles, listened to the advice given him by his father-in-law to advance to some distance to meet the enemy; Maximian making an offer to accompany him. But no sooner was he certain that Constantine was sufficiently distant not to return very speedily, than he repaired to Arles, and a third time resuming the purple, took possession of the

palace and the treasure, of which he distributed a great part to the soldiers. The emperor informed in time of his proceedings, hastened back, and soon compelled Maximian to fly, and shut himself up in Marseilles with a small garrison, which suffered itself to be surprized. Constantine spared his life, and still allowed him a liberty, which he abused. Determined to reoccupy the throne at whatever risk, he addressed himself to his daughter Fausta, and by his threats, induced her to leave open the door of her husband's chamber at night. This she promised her father to do, but informing her husband of the intended treachery, he caused a eunuch to be placed in his bed. Maximian entered the room at midnight, and striking the slave cried out, "Constantine is dead, and I am emperor." Constantine immediately appeared with a numerous guard, and seized his father-in-law, to whom he allowed his choice of death, and who fixed on being strangled.

Galerius, whose decaying health rendered assistance necessary to him, after the death of Severus, had bestowed the purple on Licinius, whose sole good quality was that of being an expert warrior. He was otherwise cruel, haughty, debauched, ignorant, and so great an enemy to the sciences, that he called them the ruin of all states. The Cæsar Maximinus offended at this promotion, caused himself to be declared emperor

in Syria and Egypt. And Galerius, probably unable to prevent, winked at his usurpation. Another pretender, named Alexander, a physician of low extraction, assumed the purple in Africa, with which he decorated himself at Carthage. Galerius lived not to see the conclusion of these attempts, being attacked with a disease, accompanied with pains so dreadful, that the bare relation of them excites horror; and which historians represent as the chastisement of heaven for his persecution of the christians. His eyes were no sooner closed, than Licinius and Maximinus fought for his spoils, which they afterwards divided. Maxentius remained in the possession of Italy, and the other department which he had won from Severus. In this division was Africa, the command of which Alexander had usurped. The Italian carried his arms thither, conquered and strangled the African, and put to death all whose spoils could enrich him, confiscating their wealth under the pretence of their having favoured the usurper. He carried his fury so far as to reduce Carthage to ashes, which had risen anew, and become one of the finest and most flourishing cities in the world.

Maxentius, elated with his victory, then pretended to have no equal, but openly said that his colleagues were only his lieutenants, placed on the frontiers to defend them against the

barbarians, and liable to be removed at his pleasure. Constantine, on being informed of his hostile preparations, remonstrated to him on the calamities of civil war, and the certain evils consequent to the people. But Maxentius, whom historians represent as a tyrant sullied with every vice, was not a man to be moved by such considerations. Rome groaned beneath his iron sceptre; since, not contented with his own oppression, he abandoned the life, property, and honour of his subjects to the soldiers. His avarice did not spare the chief members of the senate, nor his lewdness the most illustrious women. One of these, the wife of a governor of Rome, and a professor of the christian religion, when on the point of being sacrificed to his impure desires, killed herself on the spot.

Christian
religion.

When we examine with the light of history the birth, progress, and establishment, of this religion, it is impossible not to be struck with astonishment. It arose in a corner of the earth amongst a degraded people, or rather amongst the ruins of a scattered and enslaved nation; whilst its founder, a man of low birth, was hardly known in his own country. He preached there for only three years, and died fixed to a gibbet, condemned to the disgraceful death of a slave; leaving behind as promulgators of his doctrine twelve men of extraction as obscure as his own, ignorant, and low, following through

necessity the fatiguing trades of the most indigent class of people.

His dogmas are neither more clear nor more satisfactory to the mind than those of the religions then established; like them they are involved in mystery and obscurity. What is proposed as an object of belief by them contradicts all received opinions, and his discipline is in opposition to our favourite interests. He commands men to give up even their inclinations; he preaches resistance to the most attractive passions—ambition, glory, and the love of wealth; he requires men to distrust what is agreeable to them, to be free from all attachment to the goods of this life, and to think only of those which are promised in another.

His morality, pure and severe, proscribes not only those vices detestable even in the eyes of pagans, such as rapine and cruelty, but even those which in the persons of their gods they had consecrated;—such as voluptuousness, deprived of its refinements, pride, ostentation, and revenge;—in the room of which he substitutes, forgiveness of injuries, love of our enemies, modesty, humility, condescension, and gentleness, in short, all the virtues offended against by the beings whom the pagans adored. His disciples had to combat with the interests of the pontiffs, who were chosen from amongst the chiefs of nations; and the attachment of a whole people to a religion

recommended to them by ceremonies the most pompous, displayed in magnificent temples, to which the christians could only substitute their timid and obscure rites. Insulted by contempt, and persecuted by hatred, they yet spread their religion amongst the commonalty whom it little affected, and amongst the great whom it opposed; they introduced it to the palace of the emperors, who beheld themselves, with astonishment, surrounded by christians in despite of the cruelty of their edicts against them. The silence observed with respect to this religion by some of these princes left them intervals of tranquillity, during which the doctrines of a crucified Jew, austere and inimical to their pleasures, preached in those ages of science by twelve apostles, ignorant of any, increased so far as to become the rival, and at length the triumphant rival, of those religions which claimed for their founders, heroes or kings deified or immortalized by the brilliancy of their exploits. If this almost universal conversion did not arise from the evidence of miracles, which it was then impossible to deny, it offers us in itself the most surprizing of all miracles.

Constantine is said to have hesitated between the two religions, and to have decided for the christian, in a vision which he himself related. The cross appeared to him in a luminous cloud, beneath which appeared these words: "In this sign shalt thou conquer." The appellation *laba-*

rum was applied to it, of which the derivation is unknown; and the emperor caused it to be painted on the standards of the troops which he led against Maxentius. His forces, both less numerous and less warlike than those of his brother-in-law, yet obtained a complete victory over him, almost under the walls of Rome. The tyrant having caused a bridge to be constructed over the Tiber, which, should Constantine endeavour to pass over it, would open in the middle, and swallow up both him and his army, was taken in his own snare. On being routed, he sought refuge in his terror on this bridge, which, laden with the fugitives, opened as had been projected, and he was drowned with numbers of his soldiers.

The power acquired by Constantine from this victory he no otherwise displayed than by disbanding the prætorian guards, whom he reduced to the rank of common soldiers, and caused their camp, which had so often been the seat of disorder and rebellions, to be destroyed. He made no innovation in the government, magistracy, or offices, but suffered all who submitted and acknowledged him to retain their posts. He abrogated no laws but such as were useless or unjust. Such were those in favour of informers, whom he punished; and those against the christians, which he annulled. He forbade the execution on the cross, as derogatory to chris-

tianity ; and having caused himself to be instructed in that religion, openly professed it. He bestowed on it new privileges, erected churches, and shewed the highest veneration for its bishops, as well as the greatest deference to their advice. He deposited in their hands the sums he designed for the poor, and chiefly of christians.

The favour shewn by the emperor to the clergy most probably induced more persons than was proper to enter that profession, since he thought fit to pass an edict, by which he forbid the reception of persons into it whom their wealth and talents fitted for public employments. But on its being represented to him, that such a regulation, by depriving the church of those who were likely to adorn it, might tend to its degradation, he retracted it. He forbid the consultation of aruspices or soothsayers, and all meetings of pagans in private houses, leaving them still the liberty of exercising their religion in public, though there was doubtless some shame attached to being of a different way of thinking from the monarch. Through respect to the chastity recommended by the christian religion, Constantine revoked the law called *Papia*, which took account of and raised a tax on those in a state of celibacy. He extended his attention to the prisoners, providing for their being humanely treated ; established a fund for the support of the children of such poor parents as should

declare themselves unable to bring them up; and ordered a cessation from labour of all kinds on Sundays.

Whilst the christian religion thus flourished under the influence of Constantine, by Licinius it was proscribed, and by Maximinus persecuted. The latter endeavoured to force the Armenians to return to paganism, which they had abjured; and began the first war which had the christian religion for its object. These two emperors, agreeing only in their blindness, found other sources of misunderstanding, which brought on a battle between them. Maximinus being conquered, endeavoured to shorten his life by poison; but not taking a sufficiently strong dose, dragged on his existence in the most excruciating tortures, in which he at length expired. Licinius, in the territory of the deceased, found Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian, and widow of Galerius; Candidianus, his adopted son; Prisca, the mother of Valeria; and Severianus, the son of Severus; all of whom he put to death. Reckoning in Maximian and Maximinus, it is remarked, that all the latter persecutors of the christian religion died violent deaths. Neither did Licinius escape. Constantine having bestowed his sister Constantia on him in marriage, before the commencement of the war against Maxentius; in gratitude for this alliance, he adopted the laws of that emperor in favour of the christians; but he

executed them ill. His infraction of these and other subjects of dispute, amongst which was the creation of a Cæsar, named Valens, by Licinius, armed the brothers-in-law against each other. Some indecisive actions brought on a treaty of peace, by which a new division was stipulated between them, with the displacing of Cæsar Valens. The emperors created three other Cæsars in his place; Crispus, and Constantine the youngest son of Constantine, with Licinius son of Licinius. Their good understanding lasted not long, though who began the war anew is not known. Licinius gave to it the appearance of a contest between the two religions. For retiring before the battle to a neighbouring wood, to sacrifice to his gods, he said on his return to his army: "If we are conquered, we must henceforth despise the divinities we adore; and we must adore a God whom till now we have despised. If the gods grant us this victory, we must make eternal war on their enemies, and abolish the very name of christian." The chance of war, if any disposition of providence may be so called, proved favourable to christianity. Licinius, after being defeated, was well received by his brother-in-law, who put him afterwards to death, without the reason of his so doing being known by any one. He then accomplished the anathema Licinius had pronounced against paganism, for-

bidding its sacrifices, divinations, and oracles; causing the temples of the idols to be shut, and the property, which had even then, in the times of persecution, been usurped from the church, to be restored; exhorting all his subjects to embrace the religion he followed, and encouraging them so to do by his distribution of favours and privileges amongst the converts.

But these brilliant successes of Constantine were tarnished by domestic misfortunes. What disagreement arose between his son Crispus by a former marriage, and his mother-in-law, does not appear, but she renewed the accusation of Phædra against Hippolytus; and Constantine, as credulous as Theseus, condemned his son to death. He drank poison at the age of twenty-five; and his tomb, in which lay buried a thousand great qualities, was bathed with the tears of the soldiers and people, and even of the courtiers. The calumny was at length discovered, and his criminal mother-in-law, convicted of irregularities but too well proved, expired by suffocation in the vapour of a hot bath, whilst her accomplices, condemned at the same time, ended their lives by poison or the sword. It has been said, that the emperor, on this occasion, gave way to his natural cruelty, and confounded the innocent with the guilty. Nor was he in general sparing of blood, witness the putting to

death of his nephew Licinius, who could not, at twelve years old, deserve a fate so disastrous.

Constantinople.

The reasons which induced Constantine to leave Rome, and raise another capital, remain still uncertain. Some believe them to have originated in the ebullition of vain-glory; and the idea of immortalizing himself by affixing his name to the unperishable monuments of a great city. Others represent him as wearied of being surrounded with the temples, sacrifices, idols, and pomp, of paganism, and unable to move without witnessing festivals and ceremonies which disgusted him; whilst the air of constraint with which he appeared when any public event or victory obliged him, by the duties of his station, to assist in them, shocked the Romans; who made him sensible of their dislike, by publicly insulting him, which, in return, gave rise to that resentment in him, in consequence of which he formed and executed the resolution of abandoning them for ever. If such were his motive, the injury received by the desertion of the head of the empire, teaches princes how to punish an insolent multitude; and gives a lesson to capitals and other towns of importance, not to abuse the power arising from their strength.

Constantine fixed on Byzantium on the Thracian Bosphorus, perhaps the most desirable situation in the world, as the new seat of empire. He spared neither pains nor expense to people

and embellish it, or to render the city convenient and agreeable to the inhabitants. He caused a capitol to be built; and erected an amphitheatre, a large circus, baths, porticos, and public walks; but, above all, he was studious to remove every thing which could recal the memory of paganism. The few temples which he found he destroyed, and raised magnificent churches in their stead. He fixed crosses in all the public ways and squares; and was desirous of having none but christians in his new city.

He relieved himself from the weight of empire, by delegating part of it to his three sons, Constantine, Constans, and Constantius, whom he created Cæsars. He united them in marriage to his brother's daughters, and gave his own daughters to their cousins; hoping, no doubt, to secure an unperishing posterity. Under his orders, these young princes repulsed the Goths, Sarmatians, Franks, and other barbarians of the frontiers. But they were more effectually circumscribed within their boundaries, by the respect and fear which the emperor inspired; whilst ambassadors from the most remote nations, warmed by the same sentiments, came to offer to him the homage of their admiration.

One of the most important and most embarrassing of his cares was that of the peace and unity of the church, already distracted by heresies. It is proper to remark, that almost all the disputes

which existed in the four or five first ages respected the divinity of Jesus Christ. Was he God or man? More man than God, or more God than man? Was the human body real or imaginary? Did the Virgin Mary bring forth a God? or was she the mother of a man only? Mens' minds were equally divided with regard to the Trinity. Was it the union of three substances, or three forms? Similar questions arose as to the wills. Were the three wills one numerically, or identically, notwithstanding their separation? The sectaries took their names from the subject of the controversies, or the names of their leading patriarchs, such as arians, demi-arians, nestorians, monothelites, eutichyans, anthropomorphites, and others similar. The opinions of Arius were discussed under the eye of Constantine, in the councils, with all the heat of oriental genius, and all the subtlety of the Grecian dialectics. The divinity of Jesus Christ came triumphant out of the crucible of dispute: at which the emperor, who was present, preserved order, whilst he exhorted the disputants to union and concord. That the existence of the church should be perpetuated in the midst of these commotions, under the eyes of the idolaters, as powerful as inimical to it, is another miracle not less surprizing than the former one of its establishment.

Yet the opinions of Constantine fluctuated between the contending parties, since he at one time

favoured arianism so much as to exile the catholic prelates, whose firmness he blamed for their refusing certain conciliatory accommodations, which the heretics represented to him as fit to be accepted for the re-establishment of peace. He recalled these exiles before his death, but intrusted his will to an arian priest, which gave great authority to these sectaries under his principal heir. The emperor chose not to receive baptism till attacked by a dangerous disorder. He then summoned his children, who were all distant, and arrived too late. He died in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and the thirty-first of his reign.

Three sorts of historians have passed judgment on Constantine. The arians, the catholics, and the pagans. It is to be expected that the latter would find in him every vice; and record him as ambitious, unjust, extortioning, avaricious, debauched, oppressive, and cruel. From cruelty he cannot be excused with respect to his own family; but he never shewed any toward his subjects. Whilst the catholics and arians decide on his character and actions according to the conjectures in which he was favourable or unfavourable to them; the Greek church canonized him as a saint, and the world has looked on him as a prince highly worthy of its esteem. No one disputes his qualifications as a lover of the arts, a protector of the learned, an able statesman,

and a great general. He divided the empire into five portions. Constantine, the eldest of his children, had the Gauls, Spain, and Britain, allotted to him. Constantius, the second, the east, including Asia, Syria, and Egypt. Constans, the youngest, Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. Thrace, Macedonia, and Achaia, he destined for his nephew Dalmatius. And to Annibalianus, his other nephew, he gave the lesser Armenia, under the title of a kingdom, Pontus and Cappadocia, with the town of Cæsarea, which he destined for his capital.

ROME AND CONSTANTINOPLE.

Constantine,
Constantius,
Constans,
337.

This subdivision of the empire, less calculated for the good of the people than to satisfy a greater number of princes, was likely to produce but ill effects in the public tranquillity. The soldiers, under pretence of securing it, flew to arms, and, in one day massacred Julius Constantius, brother to the deceased emperor, Dalmatius the Cæsar, Annibalianus king of Pontus, and five of the emperor's nephews; and with them the ministers of the great Constantine, who might have avenged the crime. The soldiers declared they had only acted thus to prevent commotions. Of all the family of Constantine, his three sons, with Gallus and Julian his nephews, only remained. The first owed his life to a severe illness, by which he appeared at the point of death; and the other

to his extreme youth. Constantine and Constans are free from all suspicion of this barbarous fact; some shadow of which seems to light on Constantius, the only one of the sons of Constantine who could have been witness to the scene, since he arrived in time to assist at the obsequies of his father. They were magnificent, and accompanied with mourning throughout the whole empire; and even Rome itself, whatever might be its cause of complaint against them, could not avoid lamenting the death of Constantine. That city was desirous of having his body, but according to the will of the deceased emperor it was deposited in Constantinople.

The two brothers divided between them the spoils of their two unfortunate cousins, and retired each to his allotted department. Constantine remained but a short time contented with his. He endeavoured to gain ground on that of Constans, and failed in his enterprize; and the loss of a battle in which he was slain closed his career of ambition. Constans then seized the states of the vanquished, in which his brother Constantius claimed no part.

The Gauls, who by the death of Constantine fell under the dominion of Constans, soon found him employment. The Franks made continual irruptions on them, and kept them in an eternal state of war, whilst Constantius was equally harassed by the Persians. Nothing is

Constantius
and Con-
stans.

recorded respecting the two emperors for ten years, except their military expeditions, and many regulations, particularly on the part of Constantius, in favour of christianity, to which he united a decided preference for the arians, who were much in favour with this prince. These wars on the confines of the empire, in themselves sufficiently disastrous, were rendered more dangerous by one in the interior, fatal from its commencement to the emperor Constantine. This prince, living in the greatest indolence, lost the esteem of the soldiery. The general contempt felt for him being observed by Magnentius, a soldier of German descent, and chief of a part of the army, he was tempted to endeavour to profit by it. Having gained over several of the officers, one amongst them invited all the accomplices in the plot, and several others, to a magnificent supper. Toward the end of the repast, Magnentius went from table, but soon returned, decorated with the imperial robe, and every ornament of sovereignty. Those in the secret of the design hailed him Augustus; those who were ignorant of it, joined with the others as a jest, and had not the trick succeeded, for a jest it would have passed. But all measures being well taken, Magnentius immediately sent to invest the palace, where he expected to surprize the emperor; but fortunately he had been informed of the circumstance, and made his escape. The usurper caused the gates of Autun,

where the scene was acted, to be shut, believing Constantine might be concealed in the town; but took, at the same time, the double precaution of dispatching assassins on to the road he was likely to pursue; one of whom overtook and killed him. Constans differed from his brother in the dislike he always shewed the arians, and all sectaries in general; and his name never appears in the writings of the catholic bishops without an honourable epithet attached to it.

Magnentius distributed liberally to the soldiers the money he found in the palace, who accordingly proclaimed him emperor, and the usurper beheld himself master of the estates of Constans. But he must have foreseen that his possession of them would not be peaceable. Constantius no sooner heard of the catastrophe of his brother than he prepared to avenge it. Magnentius endeavoured to come to an accommodation with him, proposing to acknowledge him as his superior, though still keeping the title of emperor, and afterwards descended even to that of Cæsar. But Constantius declared loudly, he would never treat with the murderer of his brother, and the usurper therefore prepared for his defence. At the same time appeared two other emperors, Nepotianus nephew to Constantine, being his sister's son, and Veteranio the general of the troops of Pannonia, where he took imperial purple. The former was killed in

Constantius,
327.

endeavouring to secure Rome which adhered to Magnentius. The latter wrote to the emperor that he desired only to be his lieutenant, and to assist him in punishing the assassin of his brother ; and was on these terms received by him.

Constantius, thus deprived of his brothers, adopted his first cousin Gallus ; declaring him Cæsar, and giving him his sister Constantina, the widow of Annibalianus, in marriage. From Veteranio he was relieved by a circumstance apparently the effect of chance. This colleague he had favourably received, and they were on the point of marching in concert against the usurper, when Constantius, after having exhorted his soldiers to conduct themselves honourably in a war undertaken for the punishment of him who murdered the son of the great Constantine, to whom they had taken their oaths of fidelity, concluded his oration, in the following words :
“ What I require of you is conformable to the
“ strictest rules of justice ; it is for the brother
“ to succeed the brother, and not for a stranger.”
The word stranger, whether escaping by accident or design, struck the soldiers, who instantly applying it to Veteranio, cried out, that they acknowledged no emperor but Constantius ; and dragging his colleague from the throne, stript him of the purple. The unfortunate man threw himself at the emperor’s feet, who kindly

raised, embraced, and admitted him to his table, and afterwards assigned him an honourable provision in Bithynia, where Veteranio lived a peaceful life without any interference in public affairs. He is said to have repeatedly written to Constantius to thank him for having relieved him from the cares of government, and procured for him the tranquillity he enjoyed.

The war was carried on with eagerness between the two rivals. Magnentius, inflated by some advantages he had gained, rejected the conditions he had himself formerly made, and his army met that of the emperor near Murfa in Pannonia. The battle which ensued is amongst the most celebrated in history, and one of those on which the fate of kingdoms depends. The carnage which resulted from the shock of two armies equally numerous, brave, and well disciplined, weakened the whole empire, and opened the door to the incursions of all the barbarians. Such was the terror of Magnentius, that he fled beyond Italy into Gaul, which had been the first theatre of his usurpation. Africa, Sicily, and Spain, forsook him, but he had strength enough left to try his fortune anew in the Cottian Alps or Higher Dauphiny; there it still proving adverse, he fled to Lyons, where he was abandoned by his soldiers. Distracted by their treachery, he, with his own hand, killed his mother, his brother Desiderius whom he had created Cæsar, and all those of his rela-

tions and friends who were with him ; and concluded by falling on his sword. His brother Decentius, who was on his way to him with succours, on hearing of his end strangled himself.

The remainder of the reign of Constantius, though long, presents nothing to the historian but the intrigues of a court and some military expeditions. Tender and humane, this prince was unfortunately weak, and a slave to habit, saw and heard only with the eyes and ears of those who surrounded him, being governed alternately by his eunuchs, flatterers, and ministers. " Yet," adds a writer facetiously, " they did leave him " some authority." Constantius was many times a widower. Amongst his various wives he most loved and respected Eusebia. She was a native of Macedon, beautiful in person, obliging in disposition, and piqued herself on her knowledge ; to which qualities, authors add, that she was *virtuous*. She was barren, but had a sister-in-law who would willingly have been otherwise. To this sister, whenever she believed herself pregnant, the *virtuous* Eusebia administered a draught which prevented her from becoming a mother. She loved to intermeddle in the affairs of religion, on which account the arian bishops assiduously paid their court to her, and made use of the power she had obtained over the mind of her husband. It must be acknowledged she often gave him good advice, and by her influence prevented the

execution of those unjust measures into which his ministers betrayed him. Whether she had any share in the catastrophe of Gallus Cæsar, either by drawing him into the snare by which he perished, or in not assisting him out of it, is not known.

This prince, who appeared licentious, cruel, and intoxicated with power, might possibly have been reformed had he been addressed by remonstrances at once earnest and pathetic, as well as by threats on the part of his cousin the emperor; but the enemies whom Gallus had raised against him at court preferred destroying to correcting him. Thus the follies of his youth, such as running about the streets of Antioch by night, insulting and beating those he met; his puerile vanity in the fondness he shewed for the imperial ornaments; the ease with which his temper, naturally irascible, was irritated against those who were endeavoured to be rendered odious to him, some of which suffered death under false accusations; all was represented to the emperor as the effect of an irremediable perversity of disposition; whilst those whom his cousin sent with an intention to conciliate, had their secret instructions from the ministers to irritate him.

Of all the faults of Gallus, that which most affected Constantius was his ambition. His council persuaded him that the most effectual

obstacle to this would be, the recalling the Cæsar from Antioch, the theatre of his authority, to be near him. The emperor wrote him a letter of invitation, with which Domitian, then made præfect of the east, was charged. On entrusting him with the delivery of this letter, the emperor thus expressed himself to him: "I know that
" Gallus intends coming to Italy to see me. If
" you think proper, you may accompany him,
" but with all the respect due to his birth and
" his rank." No violent order could be more circumspectly given; but Domitian preferred following the secret instructions of the ministers. He wished to inspire Gallus with distrust, which he also wished to become apparent, that it might be looked on as the consequence of his believing his plans to be discovered, and his vexation at the obstacles thrown in their way.

On his arrival at Antioch, Domitian went directly to the house appointed for the præfects, without entering the palace, by which he passed, to pay his respects. Under pretence of indisposition, he suffered himself to be several days expected at the court, and went only when he could no longer defer it. He then thus accosted Gallus: "You must go to Italy, for such
" is the will of the emperor: if you refuse to
" obey, I shall stop the payment of what is allowed for the support of your household."
However little encouraging to Gallus this kind

of invitation must be, he submitted to it in compliance with the entreaties of his wife Constantina, to whom the emperor had written the most pressing letters, and set off on the journey, trusting to his wife for protection; but when he was too far advanced to think of returning, he lost her by death.

He was suffered to proceed as far as Constantinople, without any distrust of him being shewn; but no sooner had he passed that city, than every thing announced the unfavourable intentions harboured against him. He was surrounded with guards, who prevented him from being addressed. The garrisons were withdrawn from the towns through which he was to pass, lest they should pay him the usual military honours, or lest he should seduce them. A deputation from an army, by the side of which his road lay, could never obtain an opportunity of saluting him. His journey was hurried, and carriages were every-where ready for him and his train; and he was even advised to leave behind a part of his escort, that he might the sooner satisfy the emperor's impatience. On his arrival near Milan, where Constantius then was, soldiers were introduced into the house where he was lodged. The emperor's envoy, Apodemus, whilst he promised him he should receive no injury, stripped him of the purple, and conveyed him to Fianona in Dalmatia, an ill-boding place, where

Crispus had suffered death twenty-eight years before. There he found two of his bitterest enemies charged with his examination: but authors affirm he was condemned unheard. "The fact," say they, "is undoubted, since every prince who hears only through the medium of his favourites, in reality hears nothing." Gallus lost his head, and his death drew after it that of many persons accused of being his accomplices, since abundance of executions were necessary to persuade the emperor there had been any plot. It was impossible to involve Julian, the young brother of the Cæsar, in the suspicions: yet though educating under the eye of Constantius, he was for seven months strictly guarded.

Sylvanus, an excellent officer, a Frank by birth, became in like manner the victim of these detestable arts. Some ambitious persons who envied him the esteem of his prince, wished to remove him from court, and procured him at first an honourable exile, by means of an appointment in Gaul; yet they still, even at that distance, feared him; and one of them made use of a letter, which fell into his hands, written by Sylvanus, for his destruction. Erasing all but the signature, instead of the real letter he substituted expressions, implying that Sylvanus had formed a plot to gain over the soldiery, and cause himself to be proclaimed emperor. He was so generally beloved, that he might have done this,

though he had no such intention. Without falling wholly into the snare, Constantius thought the charge worth examination, and by the usual blindness of his confidence trusted the enquiry to the greatest enemy of the pretended criminal.

The judge on his arrival, instead of going immediately to Sylvanus, as he had been ordered, to deliver him a letter from the emperor, by which he was called to court, in order to justify himself, seized on his property, and treated his relations and friends as the accomplices of a criminal. Sylvanus, on learning this procedure, thinking he had nothing to hope for from the justice of a prince with whose obstinacy in maintaining the prejudices instilled into him he was well acquainted, only debated whether he should retire among the Franks, his countrymen, or cause himself to be proclaimed emperor. He was advised to the latter step, and took it; but during the time passed in the deliberation, his innocence had been acknowledged, and Constantius deputed Ursicinus, an officer of reputation, with friendly letters to him. He set off the more willingly to perform this commission, hoping to arrive before Sylvanus should have learnt that the news of his rebellion were already divulged; and that therefore he should easily engage him to surrender himself. But on his arrival at Cologne, he learnt, notwithstanding his diligence, that Sylvanus was already informed

that his rebellion had reached the court before him. Urlicinus then changed his measures; and pretending to have left the party of the emperor to share the fortunes of Sylvanus, introduced himself as his friend, and was received by him with kindness and confidence. He made use of this deception to seduce his soldiers, who assassinated the too-credulous Sylvanus. Urlicinus was esteemed an upright man; but what is it the baneful air of a court will not corrupt? He was afterwards disgraced, and punished by that very court to which he had made the sacrifice of his honour.

Officers of reputation were continually exposed to such adventures, though they did not always meet with the same tragical end. They often retired, and were replaced by the friends and creatures of ministers, generally worthless; and the empire, assaulted on all sides by the barbarians, suffered from the cabal. The state of weakness to which it gradually tended, and the impossibility that one man should provide for all exigencies, determined Constantius to take a colleague; a resolution which was strongly opposed by his ministers, who feared, by such a coalition, to lose a part of their power. Their opposition became much greater when they found it was on Julian, the brother of Gallus, that the emperor had cast his eyes, as they equally dreaded his talents and his vengeance.

But Eusebia encouraged her husband to persevere in his intention; and he sent one morning to Julian, whom he declared Cæsar, telling him to quit his philosopher's cloak, which appears to have been then worn, as the monastic dress has since been, to imply that the wearer made no pretensions to the government.

As the ministers had not been able to ward off this blow, and retain Julian in inaction, they determined to render his political existence more disagreeable to him than his former state. They removed from about his person all in whom he trusted; and under pretence of respect placed guards over him, less to defend than observe him. His letters were opened before them, so that he found himself reduced to desire his friends not to write to him, nor come to see him, lest they should expose him or themselves to disagreeable consequences. On his setting out from Milan for Gaul, where the empire was threatened with the greatest danger, he was surrounded with observers, spies, and contradictors, whose business it was to control his actions, and restrain his power. Yet notwithstanding all these intrigues, his first campaign was fortunate; and his success determined the emperor to enlarge his power: but it was at the same time contrived, under pretence of assistance, to place an officer over him, who was indeed not deficient in merit, but who had betrayed Gallus,

and was believed a fit person to defeat the enterprises of Julian.

All the address of which Julian was master, as well as the confidence of his troops in him, was necessary to support him at once against the secret machinations, and the continual irruptions, of the enemy, who sometimes attacked him on all sides. Whilst he passed scarcely a day without fighting, Constantius lived a life of indolence in Italy. He appeared at Rome, whose magnificence he admired; her temple of Jupiter—her public baths—amphitheatre—the tomb of Adrian—the theatre of Pompey—the forum of Trajan, and other public buildings. “Fame,” said he, “which exaggerates all other things, falls short of truth in her account of Rome.” He could not enter the senate-house, till the altar of victory, the remains of idolatry, had been removed thence, against which he had just published some very severe edicts, by which he declared those who practised it unworthy of all employ: sentencing magicians to torture and death, as well as diviners, and those who consulted them, who should be found in his court, or in that of Julian.

The Cæsar continued to gather fresh laurels, all of which he referred to Constantius, who appropriated, without hesitation, the glory of his cousin; and in the account he published of the important victory gained by Julian at Stras-

bury, attributed to himself the whole honour, without even naming the conqueror. He looked upon the prisoners, whether princes or others, whom his cousin sent to him, as trophies of his own valour; and treated them as such: a puerile ostentation, which was the more blameable in Constantius, as he was not himself without some military glory, with which he ought to have been satisfied. He had in person beat the Quadi and Sarmatians, both warlike nations; and had obliged them to sue for peace. It may be said he understood war, and shewed himself brave, when engaged in it; but he loved peace, and did every thing in his power to maintain it with the Persians, against whom he did not begin his march till driven to extremes.

This war brought the intrigues against Julian to a crisis. Constantius, though provided with excellent and numerous troops, was advised to require from the Cæsar a reinforcement of his chosen men. This order reaching Julian at a moment of difficulty, when the Picts and Scots, falling from their rocks, ravaged Britain, gave much uneasiness to the young general; whilst on another side he had every reason to apprehend that no sooner should his best troops have left him, than the Germans, whom fear only kept quiet, would re-enter Gaul. In this dilemma, exposed to two evils, on one side to the resentment of the emperor if he did not obey his orders, and

to inevitable invasion if he did ; Julian determined on obedience, but at the same time on abdicating his dignity of Cæsar. Sending therefore for Decentius, who was charged with the orders from the emperor, he informed him, that the auxiliaries levied in Germany and Gaul had entered into the service only on condition of not being compelled to pass the Alps, and that there might be danger in infringing the capitulation.

When Decentius had made his choice, and was ready to depart with them, discontent became general through the army. The soldiers complained they were being sent to the extremity of the world, whilst their children, wives, and friends, would be made slaves by the barbarians. Julian, to remove this reason of resistance, allowed them to take their families with them, and offered them conveyances at the expence of the public. He carried his attention still further, and as he knew the attachment of the soldiers for him, advised Decentius not to bring them by Paris, where he was, lest they should proceed to some act of violence at the sight of him. But the commander thought it not right to refuse them the satisfaction which they eagerly required, of taking leave of their general. Julian received them with kindness, and exhorted them to submit readily to the orders of the emperor, who would not fail to reward their courage : but the people

conjured them not to desert a country they had so gloriously defended. The soldiers were willing enough to stay, but their young general once more addressing them, after listening to him with attention in profound silence they withdrew. To the officers he gave a magnificent repast, offering them his services, and assuring them of his esteem and regard; who, afflicted with the idea of losing such a leader, and quitting their native country, retired sorrowfully to their quarters.

The ferment increased, and at night the soldiers, incited as it is supposed by their officers, appeared tumultuously at the palace, and proclaimed Julian emperor. He rejected the proffered honour with indignation, and ordering the gates to be shut, the soldiers who eagerly desired to see him were obliged to wait till the next day. It is said, that during the night, Julian beheld a spectre such as the genius of the empire was then represented, who said to him, "I come to be with you, but it will be but for a short time." At the dawn of the day, the soldiers forced their way into the palace, and obliging Julian to appear, saluted him emperor, or on his refusal of that dignity threatened him with death. He yielded to their intreaties, was borne on a shield, and bearing a gold collar or necklace for a diadem, distributed the usual gifts to the soldiers.

It is easy to foresee the consequences of this event; the new emperor wrote to the old one in excuse of what had passed, and the latter refused to acknowledge his cousin under any other title than that of Cæsar, to which he sent him orders to confine himself. Julian, who received the deputy on his throne, declared himself ready to surrender his power, if the soldiers would allow him; but to this they all cried out they would never consent; and he then consummated his rebellion by receiving their oaths of fidelity. Many writers have doubted whether he had ever any real repugnance to this elevation, and others assure us his resistance was only feigned, and the whole piece prepared before he acted his part in it. Should this be true, after what he had suffered, and what he had yet to fear, he may seem excusable. Constantius certainly was not so in refusing to yield to circumstances in the gratification of a relation worthy all his regard. That he did not, may, in a great measure, be attributed to those bad counsellors whom he had no longer the prudent Eusebia to counterpoise; she was dead, and to cancel his affliction, he had taken another wife. Julian had also lost his, but not being of a disposition to amuse himself with new nuptials, he was employed in exercising his troops in victories over the Germans, till such time as it was necessary to lead them against the emperor.

His manifestoes preceded his march ; and in those which he sent into Greece, Athens, Corinth, and other places which he knew to be attached to the worship of the pagan gods, he implied that he acted only by their inspiration ; but in his palace he still publicly assisted at the christian ceremonies, whilst he allowed himself to offer sacrifices and other pagan rites in secret. Julian easily became master of Italy and Sicily, and had already advanced beyond Illyricum, when he was informed of the almost sudden death of the emperor. Having freed himself from the Persians, by a hasty peace, he had advanced precipitately against his rival, and was carried off after a short illness by a violent fever, at the village of Mopsucrene on the borders of Cilicia, at the foot of mount Taurus. He was only forty years of age, of which he had reigned twenty-five under the influence of his wife, Eumenes, Eusebius, Serapion, and other courtiers, ministers, and freedmen. Immediately before his death, he received baptism from an arian. Constantius was small in person, but formed to bear fatigue ; temperate, slept little, loved nothing but his wives, and was totally devoid of genius, knowledge, or majesty.

His death caused not the least commotion in the empire. The army he was leading against Julian sent to acknowledge him ; and the other armies, the two capitals, Rome and Constanti-
nople, with the provinces, vied with each other

in declaring him emperor; and he found himself on a sudden placed on the throne with an unanimity and tranquillity which no emperor before him had experienced. The Julian of whom we now speak is him known by the name of the *apostate*; an epithet, which would seem to oblige every christian historian to draw an unfavourable portrait of this prince. Yet some respectable authors have ventured to give a less disadvantageous likeness of him, and have succeeded. Our idea of him is, that he was a singular man, and one of those who would never be proposed, even by his greatest admirers, as a fit model for imitation. He lost his mother at his birth and his father when very young by assassination. His relation, Constantius, left him wholly in the hands of pedagogues, who, proud of having one of the imperial stock under the ferula, left him to his own inclinations; and dazzled by the genius and quickness of conception he shewed, they rather became his pupils than his masters: "There is," said they, "nothing left for us to teach him."

From that moment, Julian believed himself a prodigy. Abounding in capacity, and unrestrained by respect for his teachers, the eagerness of his curiosity inclined him to search into all things; and his childhood was no sooner passed, than he became entitled, both by his birth and his knowledge, to join the societies of the learned,

and of the most celebrated philosophers of Greece, and principally of Athens, where he resided. These, if they contradicted, still spared the royal pupil, and left him in possession of his own opinions, on the support of which he piqued himself. Such a character must revolt against every species of mental subjection. Constantius, who wished him to be a christian, confined and persecuted him; and Julian, with all his good sense, became stubbornly attached to an absurd polytheism. The habit contracted in his early days, when surrounded only by inferiors, of doing exactly as he pleased, made him free in his manners; negligent, even to indelicacy, in his dress; and, which is a capital defect in a prince, much addicted to raillery. This sketch of his early years will suffice to explain the mixture of good and bad qualities he exhibited, and will induce us to pity him in his errors.

This prince was of low stature; and his face, which had in it nothing agreeable, was disfigured by a long beard; he was well made, active, and uncommonly expert in all his exercises. His memory was excellent, and he possessed much penetration and presence of mind. Were we not acquainted to what lengths the determination of being obeyed will carry some minds, we should have reason for surprize, that he who is represented to have been naturally good and gentle, should have so harassed and persecuted

the christians. Julian should have applied to himself the advice he once gave a father who had disinherited his son in consequence of his having renounced christianity for paganism. The emperor, who had ordered both father and son into his presence, thus addressed the former: "I think
 " nothing more unreasonable than the use of
 " force where religion is concerned. Allow
 " your son to follow one different from your's, as
 " I do you to profess one different from mine;
 " though I could easily oblige you to renounce
 " it." "What!" answered the father, "can
 " you speak in favour of a wretch detested of
 " heaven, who has preferred falsehood to truth,
 " and abjured the faith of the true God to kneel
 " before an idol?" To this Julian replied: "In-
 " vectives are here ill placed:" and then ad-
 dressing himself to the youth: "Since," said
 he, "your father is deaf to my intreaties, and
 " pays no regard to my recommendation, I will
 " take care of you." Thus should every dispute
 of this kind be terminated: and though every
 man is not an emperor, and therefore cannot
 charge himself with the interests of either party,
 every man has at least the power, whatever be
 the disagreement of opinions; of recommending
 concord and peace; and of giving an example
 of it in his own person.

The warlike exploits of Julian close where
 those of other princes usually commence; that is,

on his accession to the throne. When we consider his youth and education, which was wholly studious, and so much so, that he was obliged to learn the very elements of the military art at the time of his leading the army against the enemy, we cannot but be astonished at his victories. He was, however, inclined to become a soldier, and extremely temperate. "Whoever thinks," he would say, "much of his table, thinks little of virtue." Effeminate in nothing; he slept on a skin spread on the floor; and rose whenever he waked, which was usually at midnight. He then employed the remainder of the night in writing, reading, and visiting the posts of the army, in all weathers. He gave few repasts, attended no shews, and suffered neither dancers, musicians, comedians, nor buffoons, at his court. He forbade the pagan pontiffs to frequent the theatre, and declared such amusements *infamous*.

He was no sooner in possession of the sovereign authority, than he opened the temples and renewed the idolatrous sacrifices, retrenching the privileges with which Constantius had loaded the clergy; and which were, perhaps, too many. He applied himself to the opposing the christian religion with the weapons of ridicule and contempt, with which he took pains to cover its doctrine and its ministers:—a persecution more dangerous than that of racks and

swords, which, however, he did not spare. He diminished the imposts, and made useful establishments for the poor, whilst his reform of many officers of the court proved a great relief to the people. The simplicity he himself observed in all things, gave little room for luxury in those about him. His barber attending him in a dress much too rich for his station, the emperor, pretending to be surprized, said, "It is not the attendance of a senator, or governor of a province, I require, but that of a barber."

One of his first cares was to purge the ministry, and punish some of those who had abused the confidence of his predecessor; a conduct highly laudable, if revenge for the ills they had made him suffer added not its weight to the sword of justice. It is just to remark, that he easily forgave. A man who had in his youth given him some offence, fearing his resentment when become emperor, threw himself at his feet, and entreated him to forget his offence. He embraced him with kindness, and said, "he was ignorant what it had been, and wished not to know; but whatever," he said, "were your conduct with respect to me, you have nothing to fear under a prince whose greatest ambition is to lessen the number of his enemies, and increase that of his friends." This scene passed at Antioch, where he would have

remained some time, but for the raillery of its inhabitants. He revenged himself on them like a wit, by a satire; and unfortunately afterwards, like a prince who makes no scruple of abusing his power, he left them a cruel and unjust governor; and when complaints were made to him on that account, he answered, "They do not deserve another." Who after this will ridicule the great?

This town, in which he made preparations for the Persian war, as well as others through which he passed, was the scene of the superstitious rites he employed to propitiate the gods, and discover the issue of that war. A crime, which, if true, should render his memory detestable, is alleged against him—that of barbarously sacrificing young maidens, to consult their palpitating entrails. It is certain he made offerings, and burnt incense to the sun, moon, and all the planets; to the divinities of all places, and of every element; to the Olympian, and the infernal gods.

Whilst Julian thus sought support from supernatural means, he should have been sufficiently prudent not to neglect those which offered naturally; but, on the contrary, he received with ill-judged haughtiness the offer made by the Saracens, to march in conjunction with him against the Persians. "The Romans," he said, "ought to succour their allies: but of their succour they do not stand in need." And

added to this, the refusal of a gratification which his predecessors had paid them, saying, that a warlike prince "had iron, and not gold, to bestow." The offended people withdrew to the Persians, to whom they proved highly useful. The expressions he used to Arsaces, king of Armenia, who was a christian, were still more offensive. Finding that the orders he had sent him to join his generals, and to begin the war, met with some delay, he wrote a threatening letter to this prince, concluding it with the following words: "And the god whom you adore will not be able to protect you from the effects of my indignation."

When we compare the wisdom of the measures which Julian took in his former wars with the imprudence he evinced in this, it is difficult to assign a cause for such a contrast. The christian historians therefore are not to be blamed for having ventured to suppose that God suffered him to be struck with blindness, since his intention was, should he return conqueror, to destroy the christian religion. No sooner was this unfortunate prince within the Persian territories, than he caused the bridge over the river, which divided the two states, to be broken, to deprive his soldiers of all possibility of deserting; but it was at the same time depriving them of all retreat, should they meet with any check. After various skirmishes, assaults, and painful

marches, made in opposition to the opinion of his best officers, he turned from the banks of the Tigris, where his fleet supplied their necessities, and notwithstanding the dislike of the whole army, caused it to be burnt, lest the enemy should take it in their absence: a measure which he ventured on trusting to the guides of the country, who promised to conduct him up a much shorter and easier road.

The fire was scarcely set to the fleet, before the guides were discovered to be traitors. In vain they endeavoured to extinguish the blaze it spread on every side, and the whole fleet was consumed. The emperor then continued his route, and the Persians, who advanced to meet him, were beaten. They fled, and the Romans, in the pursuit of them, soon found themselves without provision in a ruined and desert country. They still pressed on, hoping soon to have passed it, and found themselves but further advanced into it; where, harassed by the enemy, thousands perished by drought. In this cruel perplexity, and harassed by reflections the most afflicting, it is not to be wondered that Julian, like Brutus in the fields of Philippi, should have believed he again saw the genius of the empire, who had appeared to him on his assumption of the purple. Whilst his mind was filled with this dreadful phantasma, the cry to arms resounded from every quarter. He flew where danger summoned, with-

out his cuirass, and struck by an arrow, fell bathed in blood. It is said, that receiving some of it in his hand, he sprinkled it toward the sun, saying, "Galilean, thou hast conquered." This act, if it took place, seems to imply a kind of defiance of the true god by this worshiper of idols, as well as the intention which has been attributed to him of destroying the christian religion, had he returned victorious.

He was borne to his tent; and after the first dressing would have returned to the combat: but this his weakness would not allow; and on the second his wound was declared mortal. He resigned himself with courage to his fate; convinced, to use his own expressions, "that he who is attached to life when it is necessary to die, is as weak as he who would die when it is necessary to live." He would name no successor; "fearing," he said, "to give the Romans a master incapable of governing them, or of exposing some man of distinguished merit to the dangers which would ensue, if his nomination was not approved." Julian died at the age of thirty-two, having reigned as emperor three years. He must be acknowledged to have possessed both virtues and vices; but whether more of one than of the other, or whether his virtues and vices were not resulting from each other, is to be questioned. By some his conduct is said to have been chaste as that of a

vestal; whilst others aver him to have been surrounded by a crowd of the most abandoned women, even in his camp: his character therefore is, and will for ever remain, problematical. He was a hero with the pagans, whom he favoured; a monster with the christians, whom he persecuted; and in latter times, has been the saint of every infidel. He wrote the lives of the preceding emperors, in a satirical strain; and, as is frequently the case with authors, often fell into the very errors which in others he had reprobated.

The army was in no state to delay its choice Jovian, 363. of an emperor, which fell on Jovian, a man of consular extraction, and thirty-two years of age. He was known as an excellent officer, and respected for the qualities of his mind. Had a defence against the Persians been all that was necessary, the Romans would have found both strength and courage sufficient, notwithstanding their losses, to resist them; but they had famine, the most dreadful of all enemies, to encounter: and the extremities to which the army was reduced by it, obliged Jovian to enter into a treaty, on whatever conditions; and he thought himself sufficiently fortunate in saving his troops by the sacrifice of a few provinces. The retreat of the Romans, though uninterrupted by the Persians, was yet abundantly difficult. After a harassing march, Jovian at length entered the territory of his own empire; when remaining

but a short time on the frontiers, he set out for Constantinople ; and, in his journey thither, employed himself on the government of it. Some regulations of his remain, which are such as were to be expected from a well-informed young man of good intentions. Even the pagans have not been able to withhold their praise from his firm profession of christianity, notwithstanding the disgrace with which he had been threatened by Julian. One of the first objects of his attention was the respectability of the *labarum*, and other symbols of religion, on the standards of the army ; restoring liberty to the church, as well as the property and privileges of which it had been deprived by the apostate.

Jovian approached rapidly to Constantinople, whence his wife, with an imperial train, advanced to meet him. She brought with her his son, Veronianus, scarce out of his cradle; and the moment of embracing her husband seemed at hand, when, like a stroke of thunder, it was announced to her that he was dead. No one was able to learn the cause of a death so sudden ; whether it were the result of poison, of the fumes of charcoal, an apoplexy, or an assassination, little enquiry seems to have been made into the subject ; by which it would appear as if some one was interested in the concealment. His corpse was carried to Constantinople ; and the pomp prepared for his entrance, changed to

the solemnities of his funeral. He reigned only eleven months and twenty days.

Valentinian was elected with the consent of ^{Valentinian and Valens,} the officers of the army and magistrates. He ^{363.} was the son of Gratian, a Pannonian, of obscure family; the fabricator of his own fortune, which he owed to war: his son pursued the same career with similar success. He was but just elected, when an opportunity of shewing his firmness, worthy of relation, occurred. Seated on his throne, he was stretching out his hand to begin a speech of thanks to the troops, when, interrupted by a clamour from the soldiers, they abruptly required him to take a colleague; that if any accident happened to him they might not be without a leader, as had happened at the death of Jovian. This kind of injunction for a moment confounded Valentinian; but immediately recovering his presence of mind, he said to them in a commanding voice: "But a few
" days are past, when it depended wholly on
" your wills to choose for emperor whomever
" you thought proper; but since you have
" elected me, the power you then had you no
" longer possess, nor does it become you to
" prescribe laws to your sovereign. It is for
" me to command, and you to obey. It is for
" me, and not for you, to decide what is useful
" or proper for the state. I do not say I will
" not take a colleague; but in an affair of such

“ importance it is necessary to act with the
“ greatest precaution, least you and I should both
“ have cause to regret our want of considera-
“ tion.” His consideration was within the circle
of his family : and his choice, which was not
generally approved, fell on his brother Valens.
The two brothers divided the empire : the east,
containing all Asia, Egypt, and Thrace, was al-
lotted to Valens ; Valentinian reserved the west
for himself, which comprehended Illyricum and
Italy, the Gauls, Spain, and Africa. The for-
mer fixed his residence at Constantinople ; and
the latter, of whose reign we shall proceed to
speak, at Milan.

The barbarians now entered the empire from
all parts :—the Germans in the Gauls and Rhæ-
tia ; the Sarmatians and Quadi in Pannonia ; the
Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacottis, in Bri-
tain ; the Asturians in Spain ; and the Moors in
Africa. Valentinian, beside being personally
brave, and acquainted with the art of war him-
self, had able generals to oppose to this confe-
deracy. The most distinguished amongst them
are the Theodosiuses, father and son, and Jovian,
the scourge of the Germans ; as Theodosius, the
father, was of the Picts. These leaders made ho-
nourable war, without cruelty when they had
beaten their enemies, and without deception when
they entered into treaty with them. The other
generals, and even Valentinian, did not always

shew the same sincerity. In the treaties entered into with them, there is but too much room to observe the visible regret of abandoning, or suffering to be diminished, any part of the empire which the Romans had usurped over the other nations; and the art of inserting such equivocal clauses as admitted any interpretation which interest might suggest. Some of the barbarians escaped these snares, into which others more inadvertently fell.

A German monarch escaped by flight only an ambush laid for him by Valentinian in person. The Saxons, less fortunate, after beating a general of the emperor's, were afterwards surrounded; when the Roman general proposed the incorporating the best soldiers of the former with his troops, promising to permit the rest to return to their country: but, after having deprived them of their best warriors, he surprized and cut in pieces the remainder, as they unsuspectingly retreated. This detestable treachery was not punished. But it is observed by authors, that these violations of public faith and rights of nations, become common amongst the Romans, exposed them, in the end, to the vengeance of offended Heaven, who delivered them into the hands of the very barbarians whom they had meant by means so perfidious to destroy.

No prince, it may be remarked, ever punished the ministers who abused his confidence more

severely than Valentinian; and none was ever more frequently deceived. At this wretched period, corruption was at its height; and the emperor knew not in whom to trust. Complaints of the most serious nature being brought to him against Romanus, the governor of Africa, notwithstanding his influence in the court, Valentinian determined to search into the affair. The commissioner, Palladius, whom he deputed on the occasion, was reckoned a very upright man; yet the governor found means, if not to make him favourable to him, at least to close his lips on his irregularities. Had he himself offered him money, he might have risked affronting him, and making him rather an enemy than a protector; he therefore engaged the officers, to whom Palladius distributed their pay, to make a present to him, as to a man whose power and credit with the emperor might be useful to them. Palladius accepted the money thus offered, and then performed his commission. He examined every thing with attention, listened to the complainants, and found the province to be in the most unfortunate condition.

Nor did he refrain from reproaching the governor, and telling him, that he should make his report accordingly. "You are at liberty so to do," said the insolent Romanus, "but neither shall I conceal from the emperor your facility in receiving presents, and the use you make

"of the trust he reposes in you." Palladius, who knew and dreaded the severity of Valentinian, entered into an accommodation, and promised Romanus a favourable report. The unfortunate Africans were sacrificed, and complainants, by promises and threats, were induced to retract what they had said, a proposal to which they consented without foreseeing its consequences. Valentinian, deceived by the false testimony of Palladius, in whom he trusted on this retraction, cut out the tongues of some of the accusers, and caused others to lose their heads as convicted of falsehood.

Valentinian experienced more sincerity from Iphicles, whom the Epiriots had delegated to thank the emperor for the upright government of Probus, the commander of that province. The emperor suspecting these thanks to be the result of entreaties, or perhaps even of threats, said to Probus: "Are you really and truly charged by your countrymen to give me thanks?" To which Iphicles answered: "They undoubtedly gave me in charge to come and express their gratitude to you; but when I received the commission their eyes were filled with tears."

He found himself obliged to punish even his wife Severa, for the acquisition of an estate by means which are not mentioned, and which were, it seems, but little to her honour. After obliging her to restore it to the seller, he repu-

diated her, and espoused another wife. It is matter of wonder that the punishments he employed had not more effect, for he was by no means merciful. Valentinian exhibited many examples of the torturing, putting to death, and even burning alive, unfaithful officers, and is esteemed by historians to have been extremely cruel. He deserved to be deceived, since he had a high idea of his own sagacity and talents, qualities of which it was not safe to discover more than the emperor. No one dared advise, for fear of offending him; he was easily irritated, and his anger, when excited, was little short of madness. When his ministers saw him in this state, they pretended to have received news that some province was menaced by the barbarians; on which he became instantly appeased, perfectly tractable, and, says the historian, more gentle than Antoninus Pius himself. He died at fifty-five years of age, after having reigned twelve, leaving the throne to his son Gratian, whom he had invested with the purple from his earliest youth. He was well made, agreeable in conversation, had a good memory, and was, during his whole life, faithfully attached to the catholic religion.

Valentinian had constant reason to rejoice in the respect and docility of his brother Valens, whom he had placed on the throne of the east. It is said, that whilst the emperor was deliberating

in his choice of a colleague, one of his officers said to him : “ If you are partial to your family, “ you will nominate your brother ; if you love “ your people, you will choose some other.” It does not however appear that Valens was so unworthy of the rank conferred on him by his brother, or that the people were unfortunate under his government. In the second year of his reign a competitor arose, who gave him some uneasiness. This rival was Procopius, related to Julian, and to whom this prince when dying, though he had expressed himself unwilling to name any successor, had given his purple robe as a pledge of the empire he wished him to receive. Jovian, when elected, in order to remove Procopius to a distance, bestowed on him the charge of conducting the corpse of Julian to Tarsus, and there celebrating his funeral. When the ceremony was concluded, Procopius was missing, and all search after him proved useless. He had concealed himself with a friend near Constantinople, to which he often went in the disguise of a common man, to observe the dispositions of men’s minds.

Valens, who was taken up with preparations for the war against the Goths, retired to Cæsarea, to watch its progress nearer at hand, leaving his capital under the command of his father-in-law, Petronius, who made himself but little beloved there. Procopius in his journeys thither soon

discovered the discontent to which this gave rise, and determining to make his advantage of it, gained some officers and newly-levied soldiers to his party, by whom he was proclaimed emperor, and borne in triumph to the palace. He was at first followed only by the populace, but the whole city was soon compelled to acknowledge him. Deserters, vagabonds, and fugitive slaves, who had deserted, were soon added to his first corps, and with those he ventured to take the field. But on finding himself in presence of the regular troops sent against him by the emperor, and little certain of his own, at the moment of action he quitted the ranks, and advanced forward, apparently in defiance, toward the leader of the army, but acquainted most probably with this officer, Vitalianus, and extending his hand to him, he tenderly reproached him for preferring a Pannonian robber to one like him, allied to the family of the great Constantine. Vitalianus, affected at the appeal, caused his soldiers to acknowledge him, and with them immediately went over to his party. This, and other reinforcements, put Procopius in a condition to venture a battle, which notwithstanding his distinguished courage proved decisive against him. Compelled to fly, he wandered during the night with only two companions in misfortune, who at the break of day, fearing to be taken with him, and in the hopes of reward, fell on the un-

fortunate usurper : they bound and carried him to the emperor, who caused his head to be cut off ; whilst his betrayers also suffered death, the fit reward of their perfidy.

Had we nothing with which to reproach Valens worse than their death, though some historians have on that account blamed him, it would seem wrong to accuse him of cruelty and injustice ; but he has acquired an unfortunate celebrity in the list of those princes who have fettered the consciences of men, and tormented their subjects for their opinions. A zealous arian himself, he inveterately persecuted those who were orthodox ; against whom he thought disgrace, exclusion from offices, the despoiling them of their property, and even exile, not sufficient punishments ; he employed also tortures and death. We cannot but look on the dreadful fate of eighty ecclesiastics, whom the clergy of Constantinople had deputed with their complaints on having an arian bishop whom the emperor supported intruded on them, as an indelible stain to his reputation. He had ordered them to be put to death ; but the præfect fearing lest such an execution should excite commotions, removed them on board a vessel ; and when at some distance from the shore, the murderers who had received their orders set fire to the ship, and escaped themselves in a shallop. The vessel and all in it were consumed.

The attention of Valens was directed alike to divines, forcerers, astrologers, and all who pretended to foretel future events, or to have any intercourse with gods and demons; deliverers of oracles, fortune tellers, the fearfully credulous, and the hardened sycophant; to the deceivers and the deceived: an attention which proved of the most vexatious kind, and was accompanied with an inquisition the most dreadful. Every book containing circles or lines, figures of animals, or parts of the human body, was held to be the abominable collections of a diabolical science, and an instrument of sorcery worthy to be burnt. These were sought for with the utmost diligence; and the most private parts of houses ransacked to find them. Was to those in whose possession those infernal manuscripts were found; which though there only by chance brought on the proprietor the same punishment as if they had been made use of in the forbidden arts. Examples exist of this notorious injustice, as well as of the fraud of inquisitors, who multiplied the number of the guilty, for whose discovery a reward was given, by concealing such suspicious books in places where they could find them when necessary.

Every thing which appeared to bear any relation to magic was a crime; and what was there which might not be construed into a resemblance of it? The proconsul of Asia, Festus, exerted his

abilities in those discoveries. He put the philosopher Caranius to death by torture, only for the crime of having, in a letter to his wife, made use of an expression used in sorcery. A woman, by certain words, cured the daughter of a præconsul labouring under a fever; and was condemned to death as an infernal agent, and an infamous magician. A young man who in the bath touched the marble with the fingers of both his hands, and then applied them successively on his chest, pronouncing the five vowels, to relieve himself, as he imagined, from a complaint in his stomach, was immediately executed as a forcerer and magician. Such were the barbarities exercised by the minister of the superstitious Valens: but, as historians have judiciously observed, “if he looked on magic as a vain science, he ought not to have been alarmed at it: but if, on the contrary, he had any faith in it, he ought to have allowed it; since the execution of what it foretold depended not upon him.” This reflection is made chiefly with respect to a prediction relating to himself. It reached the ears of the emperor, that an oracle which had been consulted to know his successor, had answered that the first part of his name was Theod: and Theodatus, Theodorus, Theodosiolus—all unfortunate bearers of a name containing the fatal Theod—were massacred. The persecution fell

heaviest on the philosophers, who had extremely increased under Julian the apostate. Their state was a kind of religious order, implied by their habit, of which a cloke was the characteristic mark; and they held schools where the pagan doctors were formed. But Valens might have reduced the order, without ill treating the individuals of it.

The severity of his laws on other matters of morals and police, and his still greater severity in their execution, rendered Valens detested; and the last time he left Constantinople, its inhabitants swore should he ever re-enter that city that they would all desert it. "May Valens be burnt alive," became a common imprecation at Antioch against him;—an imprecation which proved prophetic. He had made war with the Goths during his whole reign, and these people, repeatedly beaten, obtained more than one signal revenge. The last and most bloody was in the fields of Nicæa, not far from Adrianople, where they totally defeated Valens; two thirds of his army were destroyed, and himself wounded, retired to a hut. It was surrounded by a body of Goths, who pursued the fugitives, and who meeting with resistance, though ignorant of whom it contained, they set fire to it, and in it the emperor was consumed. This was afterwards made known by a young man, the only survivor who escaped to inform the Romans of the tragical end

of their emperor. He lived fifty-four years and reigned sixteen. That he had some good qualities cannot be doubted, since no man is absolutely without them; but where shall we look for them, when it appears that he only knew how to render himself hated?

He fought the disastrous battle in which he perished against the advice of his best officers. Gratian Valentinian II. 378.

They wished him to wait for the arrival of his nephew Gratian, who was hastening to his succour with a numerous and victorious army of Germans. This young prince not being near Valentinian at his death, the army, from political motives, lest some other candidate should assume the purple, thought proper to clothe in it Valentinian, then only four or five years old. When his brother Gratian, who was seventeen, arrived in the army, he approved a measure which had at first displeased him, and ever after treated his young brother like his son. The western empire was divided between these two. Italy, Illyricum, and Africa, were allotted to Valentinian; to Gratian, the Gauls, Britain, and Spain.

By the death of Valens, Gratian, beside his share of the west, found himself possessed of the whole eastern empire; a burthen which seemed to him too heavy to bear alone. And the description given by authors of the miserable state to which the empire was reduced, shews it was in want of a head more experienced than a

young man of twenty and a child of ten years of age. "The whole country," say they, "from Constantinople to the Julian Alps, is wet with Roman blood. Scythia, Thrace, Macedonia, Dardania, Dacia, Theffaly, Achaia, the two Epiruses, Dalmatia, the two Pannonians, and the Gauls, swarm with Goths, Sarmanians, Quadi, Huns, Vandals, Franks, Germans, and Marcomans; nothing has escaped their rapacity. All ranks, and all ages, have suffered from their rage. How many eminent persons of either sex, how many consecrated virgins, have undergone the most dreadful outrages as the beginning only of a hard captivity? Bishops have been massacred with their clergy; churches destroyed; and the finest countries covered with ashes." To these calamities a new and dreadful wound was added to the army, by the loss it sustained of a great number of its bravest officers and best soldiers in the defeat of Valens. Gratian gathered the wrecks together, and thus reinforced, opposed a rampart against the first efforts of the barbarians. After having stopt their course, he repulsed them, and at length succeeded even in driving them beyond the frontier.

Theodosius,
379.

In these exploits he was assisted by Theodosius, a very able general, whom he had summoned near him, and whom, on the danger increasing, he associated with him in the empire. It seems

likely that he was willing to atone in the person of the son for the injustice suffered by count Theodosius his father three years before. This great man, after having subdued Britain, and by his victorious arms restored peace to Africa, perished on a scaffold at Carthage, a victim to his envious calumniators, who had, under false accusations, obtained this cruel order from the inexperience of Gratian. His son retired to Spain, where he lived in obscurity, when the young emperor summoned him to share with him the throne of the east. He is applauded for a resistance on this occasion, which was soon subdued. He yielded, and took the reins of empire, and Gratian, contented with having placed them in such able hands, returned toward the west, and confined himself to his own share of the empire, but sent his brother Valentinian to him at Milan, under the government of Justina his mother.

Religion, or rather the ministers of religion, took under these emperors a great share in the affairs of state. They were introduced in the various courts, which they materially influenced, but were unfortunately divided in their opinions. At the court of Gratian, the catholics prevailed; at that of Valentinian, a violent arianism; and in the east, the department of Theodosius, the opposing sects were numberless: but the orthodoxy professed by the emperor during his reign absorbed the whole of them. It is ne-

cessary to remark what should seem no part of history, but yet become an important article in it, that at this time first appeared those hermits, the forerunners of the monks, whose lives and whose functions varied according to the times in which they lived.

Anchorets.

We have no difficulty in discovering what were the hermits, or anchorets, properly so called, such as those of the Thebais. They were men who, filled with an earnest desire after perfection, retired into places remote from the dangerous corruption of cities. Some, confined to isolated regions, allowed themselves no intercourse with any living beings beyond what the strictest necessity required. The caverns bordering on the Nile in the higher Egypt received many of these; others fixed on spots less dreary, or, united in greater numbers, encouraged each other to virtue by the force of reciprocal example, and lived under a common governor of their own choosing.

Of this kind seem to have been those who lived recluse in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, Antioch, and other great cities. Separated by voluntary seclusion from society, the duty which called them to the participation of the holy mysteries of religion, which were not yet allowed to be celebrated in their retreats, kept up a communication between them and the people. It was natural from their exemplary

lives, and from almost all of them originating from the lower orders of people, that they should be consulted by them whenever the decision of any points arose relative to religion; points of which the multitude understand little, but about which they interest themselves much. To make any opinion prevalent, it was only necessary to gain the chief person amongst these recluses, who persuaded his flock, and they mingling with the people, inspired them with the same sentiments. It more than once happened that the perseverance inculcated into the minds of the populace by their persuasions, compelled the emperors themselves to take steps in matter of religion in contradiction to their own opinions.—It is but justice to say, that these recluses were of great use, in opening the eyes of the people, and in the destruction of paganism.

Whilst the bishops and ministers of religion used the weapons of persuasion against idolatry, emperors and governors, in their regulations, spared not the severer ones of prohibition. In all places the temples were destroyed, or shut up, and the priests forbidden, under various penalties, to offer sacrifices even in private; whilst the idols themselves were dishonoured and degraded. In the first fervor of the moment, many master-pieces of art, unappreciated by the eyes of enthusiastic zeal, were mutilated or destroyed. Princesses and women of rank thought

it allowable to rob the goddesses of their necklaces and jewels to adorn themselves. An old vestal, who had the care of such, on taking offence at these liberties, found both herself and her sacred fire to have become the objects of ridicule; ridicule, that powerful weapon which was employed with success against their augurers, soothsayers, oracles, and ceremonies. Of the latter, the church retained such as were consistent with the purity and majesty of the christian religion. But had policy only been consulted, nothing tended more to the overthrow of paganism than the laws for the regulation of morals; the preambles to which are the severest censures on, as well as the best preservatives against, the depravity so long authorized by the examples of their pretended deities. Laws of this kind were never more frequent or better exhibited than under these three emperors, the two youngest of whom, Gratian and Valentinian, had not the satisfaction of gathering the fruits of their regulations.

Gratian, in the bloom of human life, a model of wisdom, attentive to his duties, and adorned with every virtue, a sad example of worth without energy, in a moment of danger found only traitors and deserters in his train. Maximus, a restless man, said to have been brought up in the palace of the east, and afterwards in consequence of his turbulence exiled to Britain, had procured

himself to be proclaimed emperor there ; and whilst Gratian was employed against the Germans, passed over into Gaul. The young emperor hastened to meet him. It is said, that from the preference he shewed the auxiliaries, he was little beloved by the legions ; whatever were the reason, 'tis certain his troops abandoned him, at the moment of action, near Paris. Compelled to fly with an escort of only three hundred men, to complete his misfortune, all the towns on his road shut their gates against him. At length he was received at Lyons, but it was only to be there murdered, at twenty-four years of age, after a reign of seven years. He was a young man of the greatest expectation ; his virtues were his own, whilst his faults can hardly be reckoned a reproach to any but his ministers.

The united forces of the two emperors were now expected to fall on the usurper ; the one to avenge his brother, the other his benefactor ; but Valentinian, who was governed by a mother, more attentive to the affairs of the church than of the kingdom, made to him overtures of peace ; and the usurper himself offered the same to Theodosius, not as a favour to him, but under the alternative of acknowledging him emperor, or preparing for war. The emperor of the east, who was amply employed in repulsing the continual assaults of the barbarians, declared him

his colleague, and appointed another at the same time in the person of his son Arcadius.

Maximus might have enjoyed in peace the authority he had usurped, had not the facility with which he had appropriated the estates of Gratian awakened his inclination for those of Valentinian. He entered them unexpectedly, and the young prince being obliged to abandon his capital in the first campaign, had recourse to the assistance of Theodosius. He came to his succour, and a battle decided the fate of the two emperors. Maximus, who had fled to Aquileia, was there taken and beheaded; and his son Victor, whom he had declared Cæsar, underwent the same fate. His brother, Marcellinus, had fallen in the battle. Theodosius treated his wife and daughters with clemency; and assigned them lands, by which they were honourably maintained. There was no search made after the followers of his party; and it is said, that when Maximus was taken prisoner, and presented to Theodosius, the countenance of that emperor evinced a sensibility which induced his ministers to hasten the usurper from his presence, lest he should pronounce his pardon. Theodosius united to the states of Valentinian those of his brother Gratian.

But Valentinian seemed for ever doomed to sit unsteadily on the throne, from which he at length fell. He was governed by Arbogastes,

a Frank, raised by the foldiers, by whom he was much beloved, to the rank of general, without the consent of Valentinian, whose childhood they held in contempt. Arbogastes behaved well enough in the revolt of Maximus; but when Theodosius was at a distance, his arrogance, which policy had before confined, increased to such a degree, that Valentinian could no longer support it. Yet, wanting the courage to pronounce him disgraced to his face, the young prince threw him a paper, containing his discharge, and orders to retire. The haughty general contemptuously tore the mandate; and adding cruelty to insult, caused his master to be strangled: he was then suspended by his own handkerchief to a tree; and it was spread abroad that the emperor had hung himself. Of twenty years only that he had lived, he had reigned near sixteen. Humane and gentle like his brother, he was, like him, regretted less for the good he had done, than for that which was hoped from him in future.

Arbogastes did not think fit to take the sceptre, but placed it in the hands of Eugenius, who is believed to have been the mover of the plot. This man had first been a teacher of grammar, and afterwards of rhetoric; and having raised his reputation by his eloquence, made his way with the ministers at Constantinople, by the recommendation of one of them. He was

taken by Arbogastes with him to Gaul, who placed entire confidence in him, and now clothed him with the purple; either to make him a leader to his own mounting of the throne, or that he thought him better capable of governing than himself. The new emperor sent ambassadors to Theodosius, who amused them by expressions of friendship, whilst he was preparing for war. Eugenius made the same dispositions; and appears to have had a powerful party on his side against Theodosius, probably less from attachment to the professor of grammar, than from hatred to the destroyer of idols.

The pagan religion, now at its last gasp, yet struggled for a time under the auspices of Eugenius. The senate of Rome supplicated him to restore the revenues to the temples; and once more to raise within their walls the altar of victory, and sanction their sacrifices. After some appearance of unwillingness, he granted all their demands; and when Theodosius marched against the usurpers, the christians, threatened with disgrace and persecution, put up their prayers for his safety. He himself prepared for the war by acts of piety, to which the faithful have attributed his success; and ecclesiastical historians relate that the victory he obtained was accompanied with miracles. His troops were at first repulsed; but returning to the charge with more ardor, those of Eugenius became discouraged, and threw

down their arms in the middle of the action. This defection was so sudden, that Eugenius, who observed the battle at some distance, did not perceive it; but, on a vast number of soldiers making up to him, asked them if they brought the emperor to him, as he had ordered. Their only answer was seizing and binding him; after which they conveyed him to the feet of Theodosius. The conqueror, to the reproaches he made him on the murder of Valentinian, and the calamities he had brought on the empire, added others, for the mad confidence he had placed in Hercules, whose image was depicted on his principal standard. Eugenius begged his life; but before the emperor had time to answer him, his own soldiers cut off his head. Arbogastes, having not been able to meet death in the battalions of the enemy, into which he had plunged, killed himself.

Theodosius shewed no severity to the pagans, who had endeavoured to make use of this opportunity for the re-establishment of their religion. He endeavoured to open their eyes, and withdraw from their error, by exhortations full of mildness; but he destroyed without mercy all the monuments which might conduce to its support. He declared an implacable war against all the false gods, whom he pursued to their sanctuaries; into Egypt, their cradle; into Greece, their empire; and Rome, that universal temple,

where they were all assembled. To the most violent edicts against idolatry, the emperor joined an example before unknown to paganism—that of humility, and the forgiveness of injuries.

One insult, the forgiveness of which does honour to the clemency of Theodosius, went not yet wholly unpunished. It was committed by the inhabitants of Antioch, a city to which Theodosius had shewn particular marks of favour. Amongst these were the suffering to be erected there his own statue, and those of his wife and children: but his favour had not extended to relieving the city from all taxes; and in consequence of one imposed on it, in common with the rest of the empire, the people rose. It was no doubt the populace, who, in their excesses, insultingly overturned these statues, scourging and dragging them through the streets, and throwing them into the common sewers, accompanied with the grossest insults. The governor of the city, who, by a fortunate reinforcement, gained the ascendancy, left not the affront unpunished. Many persons were beheaded, others thrown to the wild beasts; nor did he spare even the children of such citizens who, having power to calm the tumult, had remained inactive.

These dreadful executions spread terror amongst the people; but the panic became universal, when it was known a whole army was

marching against Antioch, all whose inhabitants, the emperor, in his rage, had sworn to massacre, and not leave one stone upon the other of the town remaining. Every one sought for safety by flight; and a town taken by assault does not present a more shocking spectacle than the portraiture of this wretched city under the dread of condemnation. A formidable body of troops, with commissaries armed with the most alarming power, at length arrived. They began the strictest enquiries, in which many distinguished persons were involved. Those who confessed, suffered death; those who denied, underwent torture. Fear and desolation were at their height: the priests and ministers of religion filled the streets; and the anchorets quitted their retirements, to administer what consolation was in their power to the afflicted. Flavian, their bishop, in the mean time solicited their pardon at Constantinople. When he once gained sight of the emperor he easily obtained it from him, though his cruel ministers had kept him at a distance, fearing lest the saint should put a stop to an example of severity, which they pretended to be necessary.

They made use of the same pretext to draw from Theodosius an order of equal cruelty against the inhabitants of Thessalonica. More guilty than those of Antioch, they had killed their governor, for having refused to release

a charioteer who had attempted to perpetrate violence on a woman of condition. "It is," said they, "the clemency you have shewn towards the people of Antioch which has emboldened those of Thessalonica. If you leave this crime unpunished, what security will there be for your officers in future." This mode of arguing had its effect on the emperor. In his anger he sent the soldiers with orders—or without orders, which is the same thing to an unbridled soldiery. On their entrance into the town they surrounded the people, assembled at the Circensian games; and, sword in hand, attacked the multitude, without respect to age, sex, or condition, and without discriminating the innocent from the guilty. More than seven thousand persons were murdered in less than three hours; many of whom were merely come to be spectators of the games at Thessalonica.

Saint Ambrose, then bishop of Milan, having heard of this horrible execution, wrote to admonish the emperor to expiate his fault by sincere repentance. Theodosius, who probably believed he could easily come to an accommodation with the bishop on his return to Milan, went as usual to the cathedral to assist in the celebration of the religious mysteries; but he was stopped by the pontiff at the door of the church, who declared him excluded from its communion, till by a public penance he had expiated so public a

crime. The emperor submitted to the interdict, and returning to his palace in tears, fulfilled with humility the duties of public penance prescribed by the canons of the church. Such are the resources for the people in the piety of a prince, and the religion of its pontiffs. Theodosius died at Milan of a dropsy, before he had attained his fiftieth year, after having reigned sixteen.

He divided his empire when dying between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, the first Arcadius, Honorius, 394. eighteen, and the second eleven years of age. Arcadius had the west under the care of Rufinus, and Honorius the east, with Stilicho for his minister. If these two men were not rivals under Theodosius, they became so through mutual jealousy of power under his sons their pupils. Stilicho, of Vandal origin, had risen by his valour, and other military qualities, to the command of armies. Rufinus, by birth a Gascon, had gained the confidence of the emperor, by his ability in business. Arcadius fixed his residence at Constantinople, and Honorius his at Milan.

The two ministers agreed perfectly well at first, for they professed and evinced an equal readiness in the pillaging of the provinces: but Stilicho soon shewed a desire of that superiority in the government which had, he averred, been destined for him by Theodosius. Rufinus, to defend himself against these pretensions, projected

the marrying his daughter to his imperial pupil, persuaded that he who was father-in-law to the emperor would have no competitor to fear, and might even be associated by his son-in-law with him in the empire. Full of these expectations, he made a journey to Antioch, to be eye witness to the punishment of an unfortunate wretch who had incurred his displeasure, and whom he saw die under the blows he caused to be inflicted on him; on his return he found his intended son-in-law already married to Eudoxia, the daughter of a general who was a Frank by nation. This princess, haughty and artful, exerted her power over her young husband. She was indebted for her elevation to a eunuch named Eutropius who having gone through various flaveries in his youth, and the lowest offices in the palace, was in his old age raised by Theodosius to the rank of great chamberlain.

Rufinus having thus lost all hope of elevation through his daughter, resolved on rendering himself necessary by the disorders he should raise in the empire. He underhand stirred up the Huns and Goths to invade the empire, and dreadful were the cruelties committed by these barbarians under their leader Ilaric: they passed over into Greece, which they ravaged; and not being repulsed by the forces of Arcadius, Stilicho came to his succour, but the emperor, in obedience to the counsel of Rufinus, sent him orders to

retire to his own empire of the west, and send back to him the troops from the east, which this general had united with his own. Stilicho, complying with the order, gave the command of these forces to his intimate friend Gainas, a Goth. On their approach to Constantinople, Arcadius came out to meet them, accompanied by his minister. The young emperor they received with acclamations, but on a signal given by Gainas, the soldiers fell on Rufinus, who had imprudently trusted himself in the midst of them, and killed him. Every thing seemed prepared for this event at the court of Arcadius, for the reins of government were immediately taken by Eutropius, under the authority of Eudoxia. Many historians blame this princess for her avarice, and are not agreed on the purity of her conduct: but all allow her to have had a great external appearance of piety, and to have favoured the orthodox christians: "And what," say they, "hides a multitude of faults, she respected the clergy."

The people, who had rejoiced at the death of Rufinus, gained nothing by the change. Eutropius appears stained with every vice of his predecessor, without possessing the agreeable qualities he possessed, which were a majestic stature, pleasing countenance, affability, and the graces of conversation. The old eunuch was avaricious, cruel, deceitful, ungrateful, and consequently

suspicious. A writer, who has left us his portrait, with shades of the blackest hue, adds, at its conclusion, that the likeness is a favourable one. He distrusted all who were disagreeable to him at the court; and particularly those who had been his benefactors. Stilicho still taking upon him to regulate the affairs of the east, and returning to Greece against Alaric, who continued his devastations in that country, Eutropius sent him orders to forbear this officious attention, and to retire; and as he was politician enough to know there is no offending by halves, he procured the senate of Constantinople to declare the minister of Honorius a traitor to the empire, and caused the estates, palaces, and other property he possessed in the east, to be sold.

This injurious decree made Stilicho determine on executing the design he had already formed, to enter with an armed force into the territory of Arcadius. The old minister of the latter, desirous of destroying all intercourse between the two empires, received with open arms the commander of the forces of Honorius. In Africa, Gildo had revolted against his sovereign; and, with his whole province, came over to Arcadius. It is even conjectured that Eutropius had excited him to this defection. To this infidel governor, who was more than suspected of paganism, Stilicho opposed Mascezel, his brother, who was a

zealous christian. The two brothers, thus actuated by the united inveteracy of fraternal and religious hatred, made war on each other without remorse. Gildo was beaten; and to avoid falling into the hands of his brother, killed himself: whilst Stilicho, to reward Mascezel for his bestowing Africa on Honorius, had him thrown into a river, where he was drowned.

In proportion as the credit of Stilicho was lessened in the eastern court, by the manœuvres of Eutropius, was it increased in that of the west, by the marriage of his daughter Maria with the emperor Honorius. To this he added the splendor of several military expeditions; whilst Eutropius had no other support than his intrigues, by which he was ill defended. His want of experience in war had obliged him to place the troops once more under the command of Gainas, the murderer of Rufinus. Gainas soon thought it unworthy of him to remain in any thing dependent on such a minister, whose place he imagined himself much fitter to supply. Against a traitor he thought treachery allowable. He engaged one of his captains, an intrepid man, named Tribigild, to raise the standard of revolt in Phrygia; which, far from suppressing, as was in his power, he suffered to increase: and when it had acquired sufficient strength to make it necessary to be attended to, Gainas caused the disgrace and exile of Eutropius to be de-

manded by the rebel, as the condition on which he would lay down his arms. After various negotiations, Arcadius was obliged to give up his minister. Eutropius, who had fled for refuge to a church, was taken out of it, to be sent into exile; when, under pretence that the imperial ornaments had been found amongst his property, from which was deduced the probability of his aspiring to the throne, his career was entirely closed by the cutting off of his head.

Gainas then made his own terms with Arcadius. He compelled the emperor to treat with him in person; and required that three principal members of the state, whom he thought likely to thwart his designs, should be delivered up to him. This Arcadius refused. But the three illustrious, though unfortunate men, entreated him to sacrifice them to the general good; and went voluntarily to present themselves to Gainas, who ordered that their heads should be immediately cut off: but at the moment when the arm of the executioner was extended to strike the fatal blow, he spared their lives at the entreaty of St. John Chrysostom. After having so far yielded to the prelate, he doubted not but he should obtain the establishment of an arian church at Constantinople; but this the bishop with firmness opposed. A more important enterprize occupied the thoughts of the Gothic general, which was not the gaining a

single spot in the city for the building of one church, but the obtaining of the whole of its treasures and palaces, with the rank of emperor. As all the troops of the empire were at his disposal, he introduced a great number of Goths into Constantinople; who, on a signal agreed on, were to second his attempt whenever he should himself venture into the city at the head of a considerable corps. But he was repulsed at the gates by the inhabitants, who massacred the Goths already within the town. Gainas carried fire and sword into Thrace, whither he retired. A general, named Fravitus, who was sent against him, routed his army. Less fortunate than Alaric, a prince of the same nation, whose conquests shook the empire of the west, the Goth Gainas perished in the battle.

Alaric, when called in by Rufinus, first pillaged Greece; from whence he was a second time expelled by Stilicho. The minister of Honorius now a third time drove both him and Radagaisus, king of the Huns, who had joined him, rather by negotiation than force, out of Italy. Alaric then a fourth time shook Honorius with terror; who retired from Milan to Ravenna, and had even, with his whole family, abandoned Italy, but for the opposition of Stilicho. He gained the celebrated victory of Pollentia against the Gothic monarch, and took his whole family captive. This defeat induced Alaric to

offer to retreat from Italy, as a condition of peace, and to re-enter it no more; a promise, which could be but little depended on, as he was often heard to say, that he should not die contented if it were before Rome had been pillaged and burnt by him. His retreat did not ensure peace to Italy. Radagaisus returned there with his Huns, and was taken prisoner, and put to death by Stilicho. Isaurian robbers ravaged the east; and the Alans entered Gaul. Other plagues united with the enemy. Palestine was ravaged by clouds of locusts; Asia was destroyed by earthquakes; and the Gauls became subjected to Constantine, a common soldier, raised by his name to the throne in Britain, from whence he extended his empire beyond the seas. Arcadius died during these disturbances, leaving a son, named Theodosius, who was yet an infant. He died at thirty-one years old, having reigned thirteen years.

This combination of various circumstances would appear to have been favourable to Stilicho, who was father-in-law to Honorius, married to his aunt; a great minister, and an able general, with a son already of an age to second him in any enterprize. An usurper invaded the Gauls, and carried his conquests even into Spain. Alaric still threatened Italy. The government of the east devolved to a child. All these reasons should have weighed with Honorius, to associate him in

the empire, whilst he entrusted to him the charge of pursuing the usurper Constantine. But whether the imputation were true or false, the emperor was by some means persuaded that his father-in-law held intelligence with Alaric, and had called him into Italy. Honorius sent orders from Pavia, where he then was, to Ravenna, where his father-in-law lived, that he should be assassinated. The command was executed without difficulty, and he repudiated his wife, the daughter of Stilicho, at the same time, and caused his son Eucherius to lose his head.

The care with which these executions took place, leaves room to doubt of the guilt of Stilicho. Honorius, by his death, deprived himself of a great general, whose talents he had reason to regret when straightened by Alaric, who had once more re-entered Italy. Olympius, who succeeded Stilicho as minister to Honorius, and who was believed to be instrumental to his death, signalized the beginning of his ministry by ordering or suffering the Roman soldiery, on the news of Stilicho's death, to massacre the wives and children of the barbarians, whom that general had called into the service of the empire. Enraged at this perfidy, the soldiers from all the towns of Italy fled to Alaric, who like a wise politician made use of the reinforcement to propose peace to the emperor, on condition of his paying him a stipulated sum. To

hasten the deliberations to which this proposal gave rise, he laid siege to Rome, which he reduced to the most dreadful extremity. His request was granted, and he raised the siege; but some delay happening in the payment, he returned again before Rome, and made other propositions, which were rejected by Honorius. The Romans not thinking it necessary to sacrifice themselves to the obstinacy of one man, received for emperor Attalus, the præfect of the city, who was offered to them by Alaric. The Gothic king treated with this new sovereign, and once more raised the siege.

Alaric, 409.

Attalus, when he beheld Rome delivered, did not look on himself as the emperor of a moment, but pretended to impose conditions on Honorius, to which this prince was on the point of yielding, when his nephew Theodosius arrived to his assistance. Arcadius, when dying, had given him as a minister Anthonius, a great statesman, and an honest man. This succour put Honorius in a situation to recal the offer he had made Attalus, of taking him as a colleague; an offer that the emperor of Alaric's creation had haughtily rejected. He was also imprudent enough to quarrel with his protector, by whom he was deposed, but who did not deliver him to Honorius, who demanded him at his hands.

Rome was the bargain continually in dispute between Alaric and Honorius; the former im-

plied, if you do not grant my demand, I will pillage and destroy your capital; whilst the latter yielded, with reluctance, the least he possibly could, and made no haste to satisfy the demands of his opponent. During the delays that ensued, famine made the most dreadful ravages in Rome. Civil war had prevented the cultivation of the lands; and the ports by which provisions should have arrived being blocked up, the people were reduced to live on the most loathsome aliments. Human flesh was publicly sold; and mothers are even said to have eaten their children. These miseries were yet only a prelude to the siege, or rather to those which followed on its being taken, for the siege was not long. It is said, that one of the gates was opened by a Roman lady, who was shocked at the wretched state of the people, obliged to have recourse to means so dreadful to preserve themselves from perishing by hunger.

Alaric, when his soldiers were on the point of entering the city, thus addressed them: "All Sack of Rome.
" the riches of the world are here concentrated:
" to you I abandon them: but I command you
" to spill the blood of none but those whom you
" find in arms; and to spare such as take refuge
" in the churches." The pillage lasted three days; or according to some writers, six. The Goths fired the town in various places, and notwithstanding the orders of their leader, numbers were doubtless

massacred. Rome, the proud and the magnificent, who had been called the capital of the universe, who had triumphed over all nations, and stretched the arms of her power from one end to the other of the known world, fell before a barbarian, who had not a foot of land he could call his own. For eleven hundred and sixty-three years, she had pillaged the rest of the world, and became rich with the spoil of vanquished nations. The fate she had inflicted, she now suffered; and felt, in her turn, the calamities which she had caused so many others to endure. Alaric survived his victory but a short time. Taking with him his captives and his wealth into Campania, he increased both by the plunder of Apulia, Lucania, and Calabria; and died of disease in the neighbourhood of Rhegium, when on the point of passing over into Africa to subdue it. Fearful lest his ashes should be prophaned, his soldiers interred them, with a part of the richest of the spoils, in the bed of a river, whose waters they turned for the purpose, and afterwards restored to their course. The Goths raised his brother-in-law, Ataulphus, to be his successor.

After contemplating Rome involved in flames, and floating in blood, pouring through all her gates; crowds of unfortunate wretches, laden with their most valuable effects, which the greedy soldiery still disputed with them; we will

cast a hasty eye over the whole of the empire, to observe in what manner this vast colossus was destroyed, and became divided. The trunk and mutilated parts, without bond or adherence, appear in future scarcely worthy any rank in the political world. Such were the effects of ambitious audacity on the part of the great; and of patience and folly on that of the people.

It will be remembered, that Constantine, a common soldier, invested with the purple in Britain, had extended his empire over the Gauls. He took his son Constans out of a monastery, gave him the title of Cæsar, and afterwards, on his bringing Spain under the authority of his father, that of Augustus. They were acknowledged by Honorius when pressed by Alaric. Constantine entered Italy under pretence of assisting the emperor, though in reality to appropriate some part of the vast wreck. In this project he was seconded by Altabucius, general to the emperor, whose treachery was discovered and punished. This circumstance obliged Constantine to retreat. He committed the defence of Vienne to his son Constans, who had been driven out of Spain, and pursued even into Gaul, by Geroncius, the Spanish leader. Constans was taken in Vienne, his head cut off, and Constantine himself blockaded in Arles by Geroncius. Honorius, during the siege, sent an able general, named Constantius, against him, who seduced his

troops: and Geroncius, with only three hundred remaining soldiers, returned to Spain; but was killed by them in consequence of treating them too harshly. Maximus, a shadow of an emperor, created by Geroncius, was taken by Constantius, who spared his life. The same general obliged Arles to surrender, notwithstanding a reinforcement of Germans, who arrived to the aid of Constantine. The principal article of the capitulation was, that the lives of Constantine and his brother Julian should be spared. They took holy orders, to avoid giving umbrage to the emperor: but, in violation of the faith of treaties, Honorius put them nevertheless to death.

Jovinus, descended from a good family among the Gauls, under the protection of Ataulphus, the successor of Alaric, and with the assistance of a king of the Alans, and a prince of the Burgundians, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and associated with him his brother Sebastian. He was so imprudent as to quarrel with Ataulphus, who put Sebastian to death, and sold Jovinus to the emperor for a quantity of wheat, of which his army was in need. Honorius did not spare him any more than another usurper, Heraclianus. The latter, who, after assuming the purple in Africa, had ventured to brave the emperor in Italy, again driven back to his first

station, was murdered by some soldiers, eager for the price put on his head.

Ataulphus, who was a chief person in all these catastrophes, espoused Placidia the sister of Honorius, who had been taken by Alaric at the sacking of Rome. Attalus, whom Alaric had formerly made emperor, assisted at the ceremony; and was once more invested with the purple by Ataulphus, who wished to intimidate his brother-in-law, and force him to a durable treaty of peace. Ataulphus being killed in Spain, Attalus, the sport of fortune, was after his death taken and retaken, and at length confined in the islands of Lipari; his right hand, or as others say the fingers of his right hand, being cut off, to prevent his writing. He lived there quietly. He was a man rather calculated for pleasure than business; and after having been styled emperor, was not ashamed to sing an epithalamium of his own composition in public, at the marriage of Placidia. This princess, when left a widow, was married against her will, by her brother Honorius, to his general Constantius; yet from this forced marriage a son was born, named Valentinian. Honorius associated his brother-in-law in the empire, who enjoyed the honour but seven months, at the end of which he died: Theodosius, the emperor of the east, having never acknowledged him.

This prince governed under the tuition of his

sister Pulcheria, who took the reins of empire into her hands, with the approbation of the minister Anthemius; and though only sixteen years of age, shewed a great capacity for government. Pulcheria was equally mistress of the court and of the state. She engaged her brother, over whom she had the greatest ascendancy, to dismiss the eunuch Antiochus, who was obnoxious to her; and in order to strengthen her own power, looked out for a wife for him, who, being obliged to her, might support the credit of such a benefactress; and chance presented to her the person she was seeking.

Athenais, the daughter of an Athenian philosopher, by whom she had been educated with uncommon care, on the death of her father was, by her two brothers Gesius and Aurelian, deprived of her due portion; and in consequence of the reputation for justice which Pulcheria had gained through the whole empire, the Athenian maid came to claim the protection of that princess at Constantinople. Her sense and her charms pleased Pulcheria, who after having several times heard her speak, judged that such a wife would ensure the happiness of her brother. She caused her to be baptized by the name of Eudocia, and concluded the marriage, which answered not the hopes she had conceived from it.

Whilst the empire of the east was thus governed by women, that of the west was no less

so, from the ascendancy which Placidia maintained over Honorius. Such was the affection which subsisted between the brother and sister, that the courtiers—often as detestable in their calumnies as mean in their flatteries—published that it exceeded the bounds of brotherly and sisterly love. Their malignant insinuations destroyed this union, for they persuaded Honorius that the widow of Atilius too well remembered she had been once the wife of the monarch of the Goths, and that she now discovered to them the secrets of the empire. The coolness which ensued between them from this suggestion obliged Placidia to retire to Constantinople. Whilst she and her son Valentinian were there, Honorius died of a dropsy, after a reign of twenty-two years, and not having lived quite sixty. He was a prince better served by his generals and by events than his indolence deserved.

John his secretary was proclaimed emperor ; Theodosius II. Valentinian III. 423. being supported by Aetius, a very able general, who undertook to engage the Huns to act against Theodosius, should this prince refuse to acknowledge him. But the emperor of the east anticipated the attempts of Aetius ; and he sent his aunt Placidia into the west with her son Valentinian, whom he invested with the supreme authority under the regency of his mother. They were accompanied by an army commanded by

by Ardaburius and his son Aspar. The father sent his son with the cavalry by land, and himself embarked with the infantry: a dreadful tempest dispersed the fleet, and the vessel which carried Ardaburius was wrecked on the coast. He was taken and conducted to John at Ravenna, who gave him a friendly reception, and left him entirely at his liberty in the town. The prisoner abused this indulgence, for observing that the soldiers of John were not well affected to him, he sent intelligence to his son Aspar, who had arrived safely by land, with orders to come in haste to Ravenna. He arrived there, and finding all its gates open, seized on John, and sent him to Placidia, who caused his head to be cut off. Aetius, who arrived too late with a large party of the advanced guard of the Germans, found it less expedient to continue the war than to make peace. He was received into favour, and named general of a great part of the troops of the empire.

But he was not of a nature to be contented with a divided command, and saw with jealous eyes the estimation in which count Bonifacius was held; an officer commendable both for his virtue and abilities. Of the latter he gave proof in Africa, which he had defended with great valour and ability against the attacks of the usurper John. He restored there an order and regularity, which have obtained him the ap-

plause of historians. The empress Placidia more particularly prized the fidelity of count Bonifacius: but to her the treacherous Aetius said, or insinuated; "Do you believe it is for you that he preserved Africa? Be assured his labours there were only for himself; and that it is his intention to make use of the first opportunity to settle himself there in independence. Would you have him throw off the mask, order him to come to Rome, and you will see if he will obey you." At the same time that Aetius instilled these unjust suspicions into the princess, he wrote word to Bonifacius, that the empress had laid a plan for his destruction; and to obtain her end, would shortly recal him. The unfortunate prince being thus prepossessed, refused to obey her summons. Placidia then no longer doubting the truth of what Aetius had said, caused Bonifacius to be declared an enemy to the state; whilst Aetius obtained his wish of being named generalissimo of all the troops of the empire.

The count defeated the first army sent against him; but thinking himself too weak to resist alone the forces which were preparing against him, he called in Genferic, king of the Vandals, to his assistance. The principal condition of their treaty was, that they should divide Africa between them. Genferic, with this expectation, quitted Spain, accompanied by his whole people, men, women, and children. Whilst

this colony seized whole countries and towns, some friends of Bonifacius, amazed at this association of his with the Vandals, whom they knew he did not love, obtained leave from Placidia to go and be informed of the motives of this alteration in him. The count shewing them the letter he had received from Aetius, assured them he should never have proceeded to such extremities, but for the preservation of his life. They took this letter back with them, and put it into the hands of the empress: but Aetius was at that moment victorious in Gaul, and it was no fit time to punish his treachery; perhaps it was not even safe to let him know it had reached the ears of his superiors. Placidia, therefore, dissimulated; and writing in terms the most flattering to Bonifacius, entreated him to induce the Vandals to leave Africa. The count entered in earnest into the views of the empress, and offered them considerable sums if they would retreat; but they had overran the whole province, excepting only three cities, of which Carthage, its capital, was one. Genseric answered Bonifacius only by insults; and cutting to pieces his few remaining soldiers, shut him up in Carthage. Bonifacius maintained himself in it for more than a year; but was at length obliged to surrender; and had the misery of beholding all Africa ravaged in the most cruel manner by the barbarians whom he had invited thither.

On his arrival at Ravenna he was received with the highest marks of distinction, and honoured with the command of an army; a favour which shewed Aetius that his perfidy was discovered. He thought proper to consider the command given to Bonifacius as an unjust derogation from his honour; and the two generals soon took the field to support their mutual pretensions. In the battle which ensued, Bonifacius received a wound, of which he died a few days after. It is said, that he exhorted his wife, Pelagia, if ever she wished to marry again, to espouse none but Aetius, when he should be a widower; a recommendation which, whether it was a mark of attachment or contempt, remains doubtful. The victor retired amongst the Huns, from whence he returned at the head of an army; and Placidia was happy enough in being able to make her peace with him, by receiving him at court, and restoring him to his former offices.

The empress had, at this time, the satisfaction of marrying her son Valentinian to Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius; but almost at the same moment, experienced one of the greatest vexations a mother can suffer: her daughter Honoria had descended to a very suspicious connexion with one of her domestics; and though but sixteen years of age, it was discovered, that no less intriguing than amorous, she maintained a secret correspondence with Attila, king of the

Huns; to whom she had even sent a ring, and pressed him to enter Italy with an army, and claim her as his spouse. It was necessary to remove her from the court of the west, which had been the scene of her disgrace. She was sent into that of the east, which was at that time agitated by a scene no less disgraceful. And from an apple, which proved the true apple of discord, arose the cause. It seems possible, that Athenais, when converted into Eudocia, had not sufficiently discarded the familiarities of private life; and that from thence arose those imprudences which gave uneasiness to her husband Theodosius. A thoughtless act, perhaps of innocence, brought them to a crisis. The emperor had been presented with an apple of singular size and beauty; which thinking a present worthy the empress, he sent to her. Eudocia, who took too much pleasure in the conversation of Paulinus, an officer of the palace, a learned and amiable man, sent it to him; and he, ignorant from whence it came, brought it once more to the emperor. As he received it, jealousy entered, or increased, in the heart of Theodosius. He summoned the empress, and enquired of her what she had done with the fruit he had sent her. Eudocia, not daring to acknowledge her having presented it to Paulinus, answered, that she had eaten it; upon which the emperor showed her the apple, and ordered

Paulinus to be instantly put to death. Indifference succeeded to the love he had borne to her; and finding herself even more than neglected, she asked leave to retire to Jerusalem. She lived there in splendor, with the wealth which the emperor had bestowed on her, and of which he left her in possession, but without authority; and did not die till twenty years after her disgrace.

Thus the intention of Pulcheria, which was to bestow a wife on her brother who should render him happy, was not crowned with success. To these domestic vexations were united, during the whole course of his reign, that of seeing his people incessantly attacked and tormented by the barbarians. A cotemporary author has, in a work of reputation, characterized the greater part of the nations who then laboured at the destruction of the empire; and thus delineates them: "The Goths," says he, "are deceitful, but their morals are pure. The Alans are less chaste, but also less deceitful. The Franks are cunning, lying, and so perfidious, that false oaths pass amongst them for trifles. The Saxons are obdurate, but have the greatest abhorrence of intemperance. The Gepidæ are cruel; the Huns cunning and dissolute; the Germans drunken; the Alans greedy of prey. These vices," adds this author, "are much less criminal amongst these barbarians than with the

“Romans, who are taught the laws of christian morality. Yet they cannot exist without haunts of debauchery; and the Goths, who are not allowed to frequent them themselves, yet suffer them for the Romans, who have established their religion amongst them.” It were to be wished, that such of these nations as yet exist had not preserved the evil habits and vices of their ancestors. To the curb of religion, which our author allows to have been so useless to the Romans of his time, Theodosius added that of the laws, by a collection which was called the Theodosian code. It did not last so long in the east, which was its cradle, as in the west, where it became generally adopted by the Goths, Visigoths, Franks, Germans, and other barbarians, who conquered Italy, Spain, and the Gauls.

Attila.

The ancient inhabitants of the countries of the west, and the Romans who had intermixed with them, insensibly disappeared from these miserable regions, driven out and despoiled; or become, even in their own domains, the vassals of their oppressors. At the name of these undisciplined hordes they trembled, and more than all at the dreadful one of Attila. The emperors no longer defended themselves with iron, but with gold; and, to their shame, by poison and assassination. Upon the least displeasure shewn by the monarchs of the Huns, he received from them embassies of supplication; whilst

if he wished to enrich any of his courtiers, he charged them with some commission to those timid and dastardly courts, well convinced from experience they would return from them laden with presents.

In the midst of these anxieties, Theodosius died of a fall from his horse, at the age of fifty years, after having reigned forty-two. No praise is bestowed on him, but that of being very pious: a great eulogium to a private man, but which alone is not sufficient for an emperor. His sister Pulcheria had divided the empire with him; and, excepting the title, he had left to her the whole power, which it depended on herself only to have abused, as his ministers had done. Theodosius placed a blind confidence in them, which often proved injurious to his subjects; who, notwithstanding his good inclinations, were not happy under his reign. His sister, who wished to shew him the danger of such blindness of trust, presented him one day an act to sign, by which he yielded up the empress Eudocia to her as a slave; and when he had signed, bade him read it. He was confounded, and promised more attention in future; but who ever saw an indolent man corrected?

Pulcheria, by the death of Theodosius, remained sole mistress of the empire; which it would have been difficult to find any one more capable of governing. But as no woman had

Pulcheria
and Marcian,
450.

reigned alone in either empire, she resolved on marrying, notwithstanding the vow of perpetual virginity which she had made. Her choice fell on Marcian, a man distinguished by his virtues and good qualities. She informed him of her intention of investing him with the sovereign power, by marrying him, on condition that he would suffer her to live and die a virgin. He promised, and Pulcheria caused him to be proclaimed emperor. Her choice was generally applauded, and the marriage celebrated with the utmost pomp. Pulcheria was fifty years old at the time it took place. Valentinian, who might have claimed the empire of the east, in right of his wife, who was the daughter of Theodosius, approved of the whole proceeding, and acknowledged Marcian as emperor. This prince had risen by merit only, step by step, from the station of a common soldier to sovereign power.

Whilst the throne of the east gained strength by the support of a man, that of the west was seen to totter at the death of a woman. Placidia, the mother of Valentinian, whose son in advanced life had left to her the same power she had exercised in his minority, died. Taught by adversity during her marriages, she had governed with wisdom, and with as much success as the nature of circumstances would allow. Her eyes were scarcely closed before Valentinian re-

ceived an embassy from Attila, demanding his sister Honoria in marriage; and as a right to this claim he shewed the ring which the princess had sent him, asking the half of the western empire for her portion. Valentinian extricated himself from this difficulty by the gold he lavished on the monarch of the Huns; and by the same means averted this scourge from Italy, which already hung over Gaul, where the emperor opposed him by his general Aetius. Seven hundred thousand combatants who swelled the army of Attila, were defeated in the plains of Catalaunum. But even after this defeat, the king of the Huns had sufficient force remaining to make himself dreaded in Italy, whither he retired, sacking the cities, and destroying the country. Thither Aetius followed him, and partly by his power, partly by his address, induced him by fair promises to return once more to ravage Gaul; where once more he was conquered by Thorismund king of the Visigoths. By his death, in consequence of a debauch, the earth was delivered from this warrior, who had never suffered mankind to enjoy any repose, and had never enjoyed any himself.

Valentinian appears to have promised more to Aetius in his hour of distress, than when once out of danger he was willing to perform; thus was the giving his daughter Eudocia in marriage to Gaudentius, the son of that general. The

pressing representations made by the father to secure this honour for his son, gave a handle to their calumniators to make it believed that Aetius aspired to the empire. Valentinian, under this persuasion, ordered the general alone into his apartment, and himself ran him through with his sword. All his friends, successively called in like manner, were massacred on the same spot. "Thus perished," says an historian, "by the hand of the vilest man in the empire, the greatest general of the age." Yet were we tempted to pity him, it were sufficient to recal to mind the death of count Bonifacius. The emperor exulting in his atrocity, and desirous of having it praised, asked a Roman if he had not done well to get rid of Aetius: "I know not," he answered, "if you have done well or ill; but you appear to me to have made use of your left hand, to cut off your right." The emperor is said to have been encouraged to this black action by one of his courtiers, Maximus, whom he had heinously offended, and who knew he could not avenge himself on the emperor, or would at least be punished for his revenge, whilst Aetius was living; he therefore joined the enemies of that general, and excited this weak prince to the commission of so detestable an action. Having deprived the emperor of this support, his whole thoughts were employed on the punishment of the infamous

conduct of Valentinian toward his wife: a woman as admirable for her beauty, as estimable for her worth. The emperor having become passionately enamoured of her, and despairing of seducing, had used the most perfidious treachery, as well as violence, toward her. Having engaged her husband in gaming, he gained every thing he had about him, even to his seal, of which he was no sooner in possession, than he sent it to the wife of Maximus, as a testimony of her husband's desire that she should come to the palace. Unsuspectingly she obeyed, and was shewn to a remote apartment, where, in spite of her tears and prayers, the perfidious monster satisfied his passion. On returning home, she loaded her husband with reproaches, believing him an accomplice in the treachery. Maximus, naturally gentle, and an enemy to intrigues, was provoked by so black a crime: and found no difficulty in raising other malcontents against a prince who was despised, and when Aetius no longer lived to defend him, little feared. There is no example of any emperor being assassinated with such tranquillity. He was walking in the Campus Martius in the sight of the people, and surrounded by his court, yet not one offered to defend him. Luxurious, effeminate, and no warrior; he was not even a traveller. He went, say authors, from Rome to Ravenna, and from Ravenna to Rome, and in one or other of

these towns remained shut up in his palace, with a tribe of eunuchs, to whom he was more attached than to his empress Eudoxia, though she was one of the finest women of her time. He was thirty-four years old, and had reigned nineteen.

455. Either through policy or revenge, Maximus obliged Eudoxia to espouse him; but this princess, who in spite of his faults had loved her husband, could not behold herself in the arms of his murderer, without the desire of being disengaged from so humiliating a state. Expecting no succour from Marcian who had lost Pulcheria, and whose forces were employed in the east, she addressed herself to Genseric king of the Vandals, to induce him to avenge the death of his friend and ally Valentinian, and take her out of the hands of his assassin. He arrived with a numerous fleet from Africa, and landed at the mouth of the Tiber. The terrified Romans fled in crowds from the town, with Maximus at their head; when the people, disgusted with his cowardice, pursued with a shower of stones, and left him dead on the spot, as well as his son Palladius, whom he had espoused to the eldest of Eudoxia's daughters. The Vandals during fifteen days pillaged Rome at their leisure, loaded their vessels with whatever was most valuable, and carried off Eudoxia and her two daughters into slavery.—A just reward for the

confidence she had placed in a prince more eager after booty, than desirous of the glory of protecting an unfortunate family.

Power was then the chief right, and the empire was his who could procure soldiers enough to subdue it. No man exceeded Ricimer in this respect. He was a prince of the blood royal of the Suevi, and from his earliest youth esteemed by the Roman armies. His penegyrists have called him, "The greatest captain of his time, "the invincible—more courageous than Sylla—"more prudent than Fabius—more amiable than Metellus—more eloquent than Appius—"—more resolute than Fulvius—and more expert than Camillus." His ambition was not to be an emperor, but to make others so: during the three months which Maximus reigned, he had given the command of the troops of the empire to Avitus, who was before general in Gaul. He, on hearing of the death of Maximus, had himself taken the purple: but Ricimer deprived him of both purple and the government; and instead of the sceptre placed in his hands the crozier of Placentia, of which place he became bishop.

Ricimer put Majorianus in his room on the throne of the west: on that of the east Leo was seated, on the death of Marcian; which latter left behind him the reputation of great piety and simplicity of manners, without those amiable

qualities in him causing any derogation from the courage or majesty becoming an emperor. His gratitude toward Pulcheria is deservedly praised, whose last wishes he respected, and fulfilled with exactness. Leo, who has been surnamed the Great, or from his country, Leo of Thrace, owed his elevation to the refusal of Aspar and his son Ardaburius; two powerful nobles, who, in consequence of being arians, ventured not to assume the diadem. They fixed their choice on Leo, in hopes of governing him; and Ricimer, from the same motive, fixed on Majorianus, in whom he found better talents for war, and more estimable qualities than he desired, of which soon becoming distrustful, he raised Severus to his place.

Severus,

460.

Anthemius,

467.

It is believed, that, not experiencing, in this new emperor the docility he had expected, he caused him to be poisoned; and according to his choice the Romans, with general approbation, invested Anthemius, count of the east, a patrician and proconsul, with the purple. He possessed qualities which gave rise to the greatest hopes from his government. Desirous of attaching Ricimer, he bestowed on him his eldest daughter in marriage; but no favour was capable of confining a man of a disposition so turbulent as Ricimer, whose passion for power was continually strengthened by success in his military exploits. Constantly armed, and at the head of his troops,

whom he kept in continual employ, he was not contented with maintaining on foot a numerous army in the centre of the empire, but led it to its extremities, both by sea and by land, and shewed equal ability on both elements.

472.
Anthemius and Ricimer lived for five years in good understanding; an understanding which must have been somewhat difficult to preserve between an emperor, who could not but be jealous of his authority, and a subject so powerful. The moment arrived, when they thought it impossible to maintain it any longer. It would not be difficult to determine who first thought of ridding himself of the other; perhaps both at the same instant. But Ricimer being the strongest, attacked Anthemius, in Rome. The inhabitants, by whom he was beloved, suffered the last extremities of famine in his defence. But Rome being at length taken by assault, Ricimer renewed the crimes of Alaric and Genseric, put Anthemius to death, and proclaimed Olybrius in his stead. The latter lived but a short time, and Ricimer himself sunk under a disorder of the bowels, which carried him off two months after his sacking of Rome.

Leo, emperor of the east, taking umbrage that after the death of Olybrius, Glycerius, the nephew of Ricimer, who was supported by Gondibal, had caused himself to be named emperor of the west at Ravenna, raised a rival against him, Julius

Nepos, who took Glycerius prisoner and stript him of the purple, after he had worn it one year. Glycerius entered into holy orders, and was ordained bishop of Salonæ in Dalmatia. Nepos nominating Orestes general of his army, was by him deposed, and thought himself happy to find in his fall an asylum at Salonæ, near Glycerius whom he had dethroned. Many were the reflexions they must have made on the vicissitudes of fortune. Orestes would not take the title of emperor, but bestowed it on his son Augustus, as yet a child, who was called by the diminutive of that name, Augustulus.

Close of the
western em-
pire, 476.

Under this emperor, whose name was significant of his feebleness, the barbarians, who had served by the name of allies in the Roman armies, demanded a third part of the lands of Italy as a reward for their services. Orestes refusing to comply with this demand, they revolted, and chose Odoacer for their chief, whose birth and country are alike unknown; but whether Goth, Rugian, or of whatever nation, he shewed himself alike capable of commanding an army and governing a state. From his advantageous stature, he had been received into the troops of the empire. Finding himself at the head of a powerful army, he had summoned Orestes to allow the distribution of lands; and on his persisting in a refusal, he besieged him in Pavia, the strongest fortress in Italy, which he took, and put Orestes to

death. From thence he hastened to Ravenna, where he found Paul, the brother of Orestes, whom he treated in the like manner; but spared young Augustulus, and contented himself, in consideration of his youth, with depriving him of the imperial ornaments. He did not adopt them himself, but caused himself to be proclaimed king of Italy.

Thus ended the empire of the west. Britain had been long abandoned by the Romans; Spain was in the possession of the Goths and Suevi; and Africa, in that of the Vandals. Gaul was divided amongst the Burgundians, Goths, Franks, and Alans. At length Italy herself, and Rome the magnificent, which had for so many ages imposed laws on the rest of the world, became enslaved by a barbarian, whose family and country were unknown. The fall of this state, the greatest which ever existed, principally, no doubt, ensued from the corruption of its subjects; and the indolence, luxury, and ambition, of its princes. But its immediate cause was the imprudence of admitting swarms of barbarians into the territory of the empire, and having considerable separate bodies of them in the Roman armies, commanded by leaders of their own nation. These people became more powerful than the native Romans, and enabled to resist the emperors and dispose of the empire;

in short, to become the masters of those who had taken them into their service.

This great revolution took place five hundred and seven years after the foundation of the Roman monarchy by the battle of Actium; and twelve hundred and twenty-nine after the foundation of Rome. Writers have not failed to remark that the empire begun in Augustus, and ended in a prince who was called by a diminutive of the same name.

GREEK EMPIRE.

Leo still governed the east, and was more fortunate than Anthemius, who fell a victim to the jealousy of Ricimer, to whom he was indebted for the throne. Leo, raised by Aspar and Ardaburius, found means to maintain himself in opposition to those two men; and even to get rid of these troublesome protectors, who soon wished to displace him. He had a younger daughter named Ariadne, whom he united to Zeno, of an illustrious Isaurian family. He made him a patrician, captain of his guards, and commander of all the troops of the east, with the expectation of the empire; but he was neither agreeable to the people or the senate of Constantinople. Wherefore, to prevent the imperial sceptre from quitting the hands of his family, Leo, now old and infirm, created his

grandson Leo, Cæsar, the offspring of Zeno and Ariadne. The old emperor, after a reign of seventeen years, died of a flux, and the empress Verina compassed the attainment of what her husband had been obliged to give up. She obtained her son-in-law to be named his son's colleague, and the child dying in six months, Zeno remained sole emperor.

Placed on the throne, he still evinced those vices which had deferred his accession to it; and his mother-in-law Verina took from him the purple which he disgraced. Her brother Basiliscus, whom she had made use of to take the diadem from Zeno, assumed it himself, greatly to the disappointment of Verina, who had intended to gratify her lover Patricius with it, who was master of the offices. Basiliscus conducting himself no better than Zeno, the people, who had no choice but between two princes equally bad, recalled the latter; and Basiliscus having been deserted by Harmatius, whom he had made captain of his troops, was killed. The unfaithful general received from Zeno the reward he had promised him of being made master of his household; but when installed in his office, he caused him to be massacred in the palace by Onoulus, whom Harmatius himself had brought up. If, instead of dwelling only on the great events which led to the catastrophe of the empire of the east, every private circumstance were

to be recorded, in every reign would be found the same treachery between fathers, wives, and children, relations and friends, protectors and the protected. It is worthy of remark also, that the religious systems and heresies, so warmly supported by the Greeks, who were naturally disputatious and sophistical, were the continual cause or pretence of the disturbances of the court, where opinions reciprocally jarred, in which the people took an active part; and ambitious men stirred up amongst them that zeal which inspired them with a blind fury, even more dangerous in proportion as the motives of it appeared to be sacred.

The indolent tranquillity of Zeno's debauchery was disturbed by two revolts, the one under his brother-in-law Marcian, who sat up the right of his wife Leontia, the eldest daughter of Leo; the other under Leontius, the commander of the Syrian troops: they were both ended by the death of their authors: nor did Zeno long delay following them to the tomb; into which, if historians are to be believed, he entered alive. Ariadne, who loved him not, but was attached to an officer of the palace, named Anastasius, profiting by the attack of an epilepsy, to which he was subject, had him precipitately interred. A noise was heard in his coffin, which she would not suffer to be opened; and some days after it was discovered that he

had eaten the flesh off his arms: an end worthy a monster of lust and cruelty. He was sixty-five years old, and had reigned seventeen.

Anastasius having grown old in the offices of the palace, where he exercised that of silentiarius, whose business it was to preserve silence; an office which still exists in the palaces of the east, where the tumult of our courts is unknown. He was believed to be a good and upright man; of which the expression of the people is a sufficient proof. When he was proclaimed in the circus, all at once exclaimed: "Reign, Anastasius, as thou hast lived!" He was sixty years old, and as soon as invested with the purple received the hand of the empress Ariadne. The hope of the good he might do, and the experience of what he did in suppressing such taxes as were odious, supported him for six years against a powerful cabal, which rose even to fighting; and ended, as is usual with such plots as are not attended with immediate success, by the death of its leaders and their accomplices.

The emperor lived in perpetual uneasiness between the orthodox and the eutychians; and was accused of having shewn too much favour to the latter. His partiality toward them gave rise to a commotion in favour of the orthodox, which, at one time, cost the lives of more than ten thousand men. On another occasion, Vita-

lian, the governor of Thrace, appeared under the walls of Constantinople with a considerable army, and threatened to depose the emperor, unless he recalled the catholic bishop, whom he had exiled; and Anastasius was obliged to yield to the demand of his subjects. The Persians gained ground in the empire; and swarms of barbarians infested it. He thought to secure Constantinople, the capital, from their incursions, by surrounding that and its suburbs with an intrenchment, afterwards called the wall of Anastasius: a kind of rampart, which rather serves to evince weakness, than contribute toward defence. In order to avoid contradictions in giving the character of this prince, authors have divided it into two different periods. In the beginning of his reign, say they, he shewed great signs of generosity, gentleness of disposition, and application to business, seeming to have nothing but the happiness of his subjects at heart. At the end of it, he sold offices, and divided the spoils of the people with the governors of the provinces, to whose rapacity he abandoned them: that is to say, he was both good and bad; in which Anastasius is not singular. He was found dead in his chamber at eighty years of age, having reigned twenty-seven.

Justin, 518. As the age of the emperor left little doubt of his soon wanting a successor, the high-chamber-

lain, Amantius, according to Evagrius, transmitted a considerable sum into the hands of the prætorian prefect, Justin, to purchase the votes of the soldiery for one of his friends. Justin distributed the money in his own name: and having thus gained the troops, as soon as the death of Anastasius was known, he was proclaimed emperor. He cleared his court of conspirators; and amongst the rest of Vitalianus, who could not have used the same pretence for rebellion under him as under Anastasius—that of protecting the orthodox; for Justin himself protected them in the most signal manner during his whole reign, and suppressed, without pity, the eutychians, arians, and other heretics. He could himself neither read or write, having passed his life, before he enlisted in the army, in the keeping of flocks. He was not, however, deficient either in penetration, or address in affairs of government. Justin died at the age of seventy-seven, after having reigned nine years.

He had associated his nephew Justinian with him in the empire; who succeeded him without opposition: but the most dreadful commotion took place in his reign that had ever shaken Constantinople. It broke out on a trifle—the division of parties in the theatre, on the merit of certain actors; but the real cause was the discontent harboured against ministers. Justinian dismissed two of the most obnoxious; a conde-

scension which only served to render the populace more insolent. They proclaimed Hypatius emperor, it is said against his will: he was the nephew of Anastasius. The greatest part of the senate took side with the rebels; and Justinian, discouraged and alarmed, prepared to leave the town, and embark on board a vessel, but was retained by these words of the empress Theodora: "A kingdom is a glorious tomb." Putting himself at the head of his guards, he defended himself in his palace; and when he was found not to forsake himself, he soon received succour. Belisarius, so famous for his victories during this reign, brought a corps of foreign troops to the assistance of Justinian. They delivered the palace, and entering the circus with impetuosity, fell on all there without distinction of age or sex; and a dreadful carnage ensued. To this succeeded the execution of the guilty; and with Hypatius, Pompeius, another nephew of Anastasius, was beheaded. The senators who were the excitors of the rebellion were punished, and their property confiscated. But the emperor afterwards restored their rank and fortune to their children. After this storm, Justinian enjoyed a calm during the whole of his long reign, which no commotion troubled. It is true, he was engaged in perpetual wars; but of these, he devolved the weight on two able generals, who were his

chief glory:—Belisarius, the scourge of the Persians; and the eunuch Narses, the conqueror of Italy. These two great men sometimes divided, sometimes united; and rarely on a good footing with each other, yet always agreed for the advantage of their common sovereign, who paid them only with ingratitude. Yet there is no faith to be given to the tale so commonly reported, that Belisarius having become blind in his latter days, was reduced to ask charity at Constantinople. It is however true, that fallen into disgrace, he dragged out his old age in obscurity. Narses had nearly fallen a victim to the intrigues of the court, and only escaped being disgracefully recalled by the empress, to the humiliating office of attending on the women, by his courage and ability being necessary to the emperor.

The name of Justinian has become famous by his attention to the correcting the jurisprudence of his country; and the new form he gave to the Roman law, deserved and obtained for him the appellation of the *Great*. His code, which has retained his name, has become that of all nations. He was fond of building; hence almost every important town of his vast empire was indebted to him for some magnificent edifice. By his generals, he recovered both Africa and Italy, and re-united them to the empire. Justinian was rather merciful than severe. But,

like a prince, he appears to have been indifferent to others. He died at eighty years of age, after a reign of thirty-nine years. The majesty of the empire shone out for a short time under him, but at his death it was eclipsed, and disappeared for ever.

History at this epocha presents us nothing but disasters and miseries which it is painful to trace. The writers engaged in this career, and those who follow them, walk amidst assassins and executioners; scarcely finding any object less dreadful, on which to rest the view. We shall therefore pass hastily over these scenes of horror; and if we represent the catastrophes of princes without adverting to the miseries of the people, the reader will remember, that the storm which roots up the oak, passes not over the blade uninjured.

Justin, 562. Justinian, when dying, named for his successor Justin, the son of his sister Vigilantia. He was proclaimed by the senate, and crowned by the patriarch of Constantinople; which latter pious ceremony had been now some time introduced. Justin was esteemed good, yet in the second year of his reign he put to death another Justin, his relation, for being too much beloved by the people. This crime is imputed to the empress Sophia, who was cruel, haughty, and suspicious. Justin, either from imbecility or insanity, was, after some misfortunes, unable to govern the

state. A substitute was necessary, and with the consent of Sophia, Tiberius took his place, a native of Thrace, well esteemed, and who had filled with honour the first offices of the state.

When, after a reign of sixteen years, Justin Tiberius,
expired, Tiberius, who already possessed all the ^{581.} authority, took also the title of emperor, he at the same time declared Anastasia Augusta, who was his wife, though not till then known as such, a proceeding which extremely astonished the empress Sophia, who, in hopes of being associated with him on the throne, had greatly contributed to the placing him there. This couple had, no doubt, used all their address to conceal their engagement from Sophia, who became from this time the mortal enemy of Tiberius, and undertook to put the commander of the Persian armies, Justinian, in his place. But the design being discovered, Tiberius contented himself with taking from Sophia the wealth which she abused, and from Justinian the command of the army, substituting in his stead Mauritius, who, born in Cappadocia, was of an ancient Roman family, and an excellent general. He rewarded his success by bestowing on him his daughter Constantia in marriage, and declaring him Cæsar.

Tiberius reigned only four years on the throne alone, and left it to Mauritius, than whom few emperors have had a reign more turbulent :

seditions of his army, and his capitol, were closed by the most dreadful catastrophe. The whole was caused by the obstinacy with which Mauritius persisted in refusing to pay the ransom of twelve thousand Roman soldiers, which the enemy offered at a moderate price; and on his refusal, put every one of them to the sword. The people of Constantinople, on receiving the news, made loud lamentations; and his army, still more irritated, openly revolted, and named the tribune Phocas emperor. Mauritius could not escape, and was brought laden with irons before the usurper, with five of his children. The barbarian caused his five sons to be massacred, one after the other, before his eyes. Mauritius bore the sight of his children's death with heroic resignation, only repeating at every wound, whilst his eyes streamed, these words of the prophet David: "Thou art just, O Lord, in all thy judgments." His children's governess having concealed one of them, for which she endeavoured to substitute her own son, he would not suffer the deception, of which he himself informed the murderers. He was killed in his turn, on the dead bodies of his children, at the age of sixty years, after having reigned sixteen.

Phocas, 603.

Neither the family of Phocas, nor that of his wife Leontia, are known. He was of middling stature, deformed, and of a fierce countenance; his hair was red, his eye-brows met, and he had

the scar of a wound on one cheek, which became black when he was inflamed with anger. Sanguinary and inexorable, he was addicted both to wine and women: his wife is said to have been no better than himself: such is the portrait given of this couple by the Greeks. Gregory the Great, who, living at Rome, knew them only by their letters full of civility, and presents, bestows, on the contrary, great praises on them both. But were nothing known of Phocas but the death of Mauritius and his sons, that would be sufficient to characterize him as a monster of cruelty. He continued to exert his barbarity toward this unfortunate family; and, under pretence of their holding correspondence with the conspirators, caused the empress Constantina and her three daughters to be beheaded on the same spot where her husband and his sons had been executed three years before. Against a man who held nothing sacred, conspiracies could never be wanting; for who could venture to trust him? One of his generals, whose merit he feared, was imprudent enough, trusting to the most solemn promises, to put himself in his power; when the monster caused him to be burnt by a slow fire. Even to do him service proved dangerous: one of the name of Anastasius having revealed a plot to him, he put all concerned in it to death, and Anastasius at their head.

If the people at the theatre differed from him in their judgment of an actor, he called in the soldiers, and massacred all without distinction. At length the indignation which his crimes excited rose to such a height, that even his relatives rebelled against him. He was surrounded by troops, which poured in from all parts of the empire: but more immediately pressed by Heraclius, son of an African governor of that name, he dispersed his fleet, and the tyrant fled; but was pursued with a band of soldiers by Petronius, whose wife he had dishonoured. He despoiled him of the purple, and brought him clothed in black, and laden with irons, to the feet of Heraclius; who beginning to reproach him with his tyranny, Phocas calmly answered: "Do you endeavour to govern better." His hands, arms, feet, and legs, all the members of his body, were cut off, after a reign of seven years.

Heraclius,
610.

Heraclius, who was acknowledged emperor, was of a noble family of Cappadocia. He had a majestic appearance; and was well versed in war:—a knowledge which was extremely necessary at a time that the empire was attacked on all sides, particularly on that of the Persians, who made great acquisitions, and would listen to no terms of accommodation, till Heraclius, by his victories, compelled them so to do. He recovered divers provinces, which this haughty nation had dismembered from the Roman empire,

and drove its monarch and his numerous armies before him. He brought back a considerable portion of the true cross to Jerusalem, which the Persians had taken from the holy city. Mahomet mean time took Medina and Mecca, and began to spread his religion in Asia, where christianity then prevailed. The apostles of this prophet were his numerous armies. Heraclius was deficient neither in courage or the ability necessary against this new enemy; but he lost so much time in religious disputes, treats, and public festivals, that he had not leisure to reflect on the dangers which threatened the empire. Wholly occupied with the desire of establishing in it his own erroneous opinions, he died of a dropsy, after reigning thirty years. His son Constantine succeeded; and is believed to have been poisoned by his mother-in-law Martina, at the end of seven months, to make way for her son Heracleonas. The crime was probably proved, as the senate caused the nose of the son to be cut off, and tore out the tongue of his mother; after which they sent both into exile, and invested Constans, the son of Constantine, and grandson to Heraclius, with the purple.

Constans bore some resemblance to Cain. He viewed his brother Theodosius, whose virtues rendered him beloved by the people, with envious eyes, caused him to be ordained a deacon, and received the sacred chalice from his hands; yet

Constans II.
642.

his dread of him not being subdued, he had him killed a short time afterwards. This crime was succeeded by the most dreadful remorse: he perpetually imagined he beheld his brother offering him a cup filled with blood, to allay his thirst, with which he was continually tormented. To fly so terrifying an object, he went to Sicily, resolving to transfer the seat of empire to Syracuse: but the inhabitants of Constantinople, learning his design, detained his wife and children. He wandered, like another Cain, continually pursued by remorse; nor could his unceasing wars against the Saracens and Lombards suspend the terrors he laboured under. He retired, at length, as he had at first intended, to Syracuse, from whence he governed the empire in the most tyrannic manner. Detested for his avarice, even more than his other crimes, as he carried it so far as to rob the churches of their richest ornaments and their consecrated vessels, he was killed in the bath, by one of his servants, by a blow from a vase, intended to pour the water over him, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign.

Constantine,
Pogonatus,
663.

Constantine having taken his son Constantine from Constantinople when very young, he had no beard; but when he returned thither, it had appeared; and from hence the inhabitants named him Pogonatus, or the bearded. He had already shewn himself a man; if a victory

gained over an usurper, by him whom he caused to be killed, may be esteemed so doing. The Saracens, during his reign, penetrated even within the walls of Constantinople; he defeated them, and lived afterwards sufficiently peaceable. He was pious and just, and died of a decline, after a reign of seventeen years.

Justinian the Second, his son, succeeded to the throne at seventeen years of age; was afterwards driven from it, reascended it, and experienced every vicissitude of fortune. He marched against the Bulgarians, and was put to flight; he compelled the Slavonians to fly before him; and, in turn, himself fled before the Saracens. Governing with haughtiness and cruelty, he was detested by the people; and to avenge himself on them, ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants of Constantinople to take place in the night. Leontius, formerly commander of the troops of the east, who had been three years in prison, had just regained his liberty; and received the government of Greece in atonement for his captivity. He was setting off for his new employ, when two of his friends, the superiors of monasteries, came to him, and exhorted him to deliver the city from the calamity with which it was threatened. Leontius, putting himself at the head of the troops which were confided to him for his establishment in his government, went directly to the palace, and

Justinian II.
685.

seizing the emperor, cut off his nose, and sent him into exile. The patriarch then proclaimed Leontius, and seated him on the imperial throne.

He reigned, however, no long time ; for one of his generals, Apfimar by name, who afterwards adopted that of Tiberius, treated him as he had Justinian, deposing him, cutting off his nose, and banishing him to a monastery in Dalmatia. This Tiberius gained important advantages over the Saracens; and might have reigned in peace, had he not made an attempt on the life of Justinian, exiled to the Chersonesus. That prince being informed of his intentions, fled to Trebulis, king of Bulgaria, who received him favourably, and conducted him back to Constantinople, which he took by surprize. The first object of Justinian's attention, when re-seated on the throne, was the satisfying his revenge, of which he had never lost either the hope or the desire. In his flight to Trebelis, the vessel in which he was in being in the extremest danger, one of his attendants entreated him, if ever he recovered the empire, to forgive his enemies: but he answered coldly, " May I be drowned " this instant, if I forgive one of them." Both Tiberius and Leontius felt the effects of his resentment, for they were both put to death.

He was so vindictive, that he caused the inhabitants of the Chersonesus to be massacred for not having paid him the respect due to him when

exiled amongst them, as well as from a suspicion he entertained of their having had an intention of giving him up to Tiberius. The executioners of this order having spared the women and children, were sent back by the emperor, and expressly forbid not to leave one child alive. The difficulty of fulfilling this unhuman command, and the fear of being punished by the emperor for not having obeyed his orders, induced them to proclaim their general Philippicus; who found means of having Justinian killed, after twenty-one years of a very turbulent reign. The last stroke would be wanting to his character, should we omit, that on very slight grounds he declared war against Trebelis, king of Bulgaria, who had restored him to his throne.

The arms of the empire were not fortunate under Philippicus; the Bulgarians made an irruption into Thrace, and came even to Constantinople. The indolence of this emperor, who was too much employed with religious affairs, rendered him odious; and the people learnt, without the smallest emotion, or any mark of sensibility, that his eyes had been put out in his palace, where he was surprized in his repose during the day. His first secretary, Anastasius, took the purple; and as he was more a politician than a warrior, he placed the Isaurian Leo, who was a very able general, at the head of his troops.

Philippicus,
Anastasius,
Theodosius,
706.

The marine army, who refused to acknowledge Anastasius, proclaimed Theodosius, a man of low condition, and a tax-gatherer. Leo came to the assistance of his benefactor Anastasius; and, without a blow, induced Theodosius to abdicate the throne, and enter into holy orders. With equal success he negotiated with Anastasius, whom he persuaded that he would be happier as a private man than in possession of a crown, whose weight was too great for him. Leo had secured to him sufficient wealth to render his life easy, had it not been disturbed by ambition; for being desirous of re-ascending the throne, which Leo, by his consent, had filled, he brought death on himself.

Leo, 716.

The empire of the east during the reign of Leo lost all its authority in Italy, which passed under the power of the Lombards, whilst Rome, as will be seen, gave itself up to its bishops. These revolutions were, in a great measure, caused, as well as confirmed, by the dispute concerning images. Leo, and his successors, destroyed them in their government, and persecuted all who paid them the rites of veneration. The people and clergy were divided with respect to this question. Leo employed violence of every kind to establish his opinion; and even went so far as to attempt assassinating pope Gregory, who opposed it. The west remained attached to the worship of images. The cities of

the east were divided within themselves with respect to these dogmas, which influenced in future the affairs of state. Whilst the emperor was almost wholly occupied with these disputes, the Saracens ravaged the eastern parts of the empire. After taking the proper steps to secure the diadem to his son Constantine, he died, after a reign of twenty-five years.

The precaution which Leo had taken to Constantine, Capronymus, 747. associate his son with him in the empire, and cause him to be crowned, did not prevent the appearance of a competitor, whom Anastasius the patriarch supported. Constantine seized both his rival and his son, and caused their eyes to be put out. The patriarch, by his order, was paraded riding on an ass through the principal streets of the town; his face turned to the tail of the beast, and himself beaten with rods; after which he restored him to his former rank, not being able, says an historian, to find any one worse. As Constantinople, where the usurper had maintained himself, had not surrendered till forced by extremity of famine, the emperor punished its inhabitants by taxes and extortions. He was more fortunate than his father against the Saracens and Bulgarians; but, as well as Leo, persecuted the orthodox, who were styled worshippers of images. He died in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.

Leo III. 775

His son Leo imitated his violence against images, but had the vexation of finding his opinions opposed, even by persons in his own palace, and amongst the rest the empress Irene his wife. Though he had before been much attached to her, he removed her from his bed, and put those to death by torture who had procured images for her. He reigned only five years.

Constantine
Porphyroge-
nitus, and
Irene, 780.

Irene took her seat on the throne beside her son Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Those who envied her power engaged the young prince, then only ten years of age, to remove his mother to a distance. But Irene being informed of the design by her minister Saturacius, caused the conspirators to be publicly flogged, and took on herself the charge of punishing her son, in the same manner, in the interior of the palace, and afterwards was herself proclaimed sovereign by the armies. Constantine rose in his turn; for the people, offended with the tyranny of the mother with respect to her son, whom she retained a captive in the apartments of his palace, obliged her to restore him to his liberty. Saturacius, who had caused his enemies to be scourged, suffered the same treatment. The son conducted his mother, with the utmost respect, to a house of her own building, where she and all her treasure were confined; but as Constantine still

continued to see her, she soon regained her ascendancy over him.

It is not to be doubted but that to gain this ascendancy she encouraged his vices, or, at least, she did not oppose them; a condescension unworthy and culpable in a mother: but the fault became a crime, when its object was the rendering her son odious and detestable. By her advice, he unjustly divorced his wife the empress Maria, and put out the eyes of his three uncles, whom he suspected. Some historians believe her to have been guilty of this detestable treachery, whilst others excuse her; but there is at least no doubt of her having a share less indirect in the death of her unfortunate son. He had left her with the army at Prusa in Bithynia. From this army, several officers sat off whom she had engaged to depose her son. They arrived at Constantinople, without his having the least suspicion of their design, and put out his eyes in so barbarous a manner that he died three days afterwards in the most dreadful agonies. He had reigned, alone and in concert with his mother, sixteen years.

This prince, on mounting the throne, had expected to espouse Rotdudris, daughter of Charlemagne; but this marriage, which had been concluded by Irene, she herself broke off, fearing that it would give her son too much power: the desire of preserving what she had at length

acquired, made her agree to the proposal, if did not first make it, of herself espousing Charlemagne, in order to unite the two empires. The malice of the eunuch Aetius prevented the conclusion of this plan. Incapable himself of possessing the empire, he wished to procure it for his brother Leo, governor of Thrace, to whom the intended marriage, had it succeeded, would have been an insurmountable obstacle. He therefore revealed the design; at the same time spreading a report, that the seat of empire would be transferred from Constantinople. The inhabitants dreading this, hastened to elect an emperor named Nicephorus, a circumstance which had not been foreseen by Aetius. The new emperor, till he had gained possession of the riches of Irene, treated her with great respect; but no sooner had he them in his power, than he banished her to a convent in the Isle of Lesbos, where she died with vexation, having reigned six years after her son's death. Great was the trouble she gave herself to possess that power for a few years alone, which she might have divided with her son by conciliating means worthy of a mother. Whatever praises the catholic historians may have bestowed on her from her protection of images, Irene, to the eyes of reason, appears only an ambitious woman, who in private life would have been despicable for her cabals.

Nicephorus made a treaty with the ambassadors of Charlemagne, who were at Constantinople, and acknowledged this prince for emperor of the east. He was disturbed by Bardanes, who was elected emperor, but abdicated almost directly; Nicephorus not contented with this sacrifice, put out his eyes: he at the same time associated with him his son Saturacius, and gave his daughter Procopia in marriage to Michael, an officer of the palace. Nicephorus was killed in battle by the Bulgarians, in the ninth year of his reign: his son, who was mortally wounded, survived him only two months, and Michael was elected emperor.

Michael feeling himself incapable of governing the empire in the critical state in which it then was, surrendered it in nine months' time to Leo, an officer of distinguished merit, and withdrew to a retreat, where he expected to live in quiet, with his wife Procopia. Leo separated them, and rendered their son Theophylactus incapable of having children. He declared violently against image-worship. Michael, surnamed Balbus, or the Stammerer, whom he had invested with the first offices in the state, conspired against him, and was condemned to be burnt alive. He was leading to execution on the eve of Christmas, when the empress Theodosia represented to her husband, that such a scene would be little suitable to the respect due to this hallowed time, on which they were

Nicephorus,
805.

Michael, 811
Leo, 813.

to receive the eucharist together; and entreated a respite. The emperor granted her request; but lest he should escape, had the criminal loaded with irons, the keys of which he caused to be brought to him. Michael made use of the delay to assemble the conspirators in his prison, whom he threatened with discovery if they refused to save him. Fear determined them to run all hazards; and early in the morning they attacked the emperor in the chapel of his palace, and killed him. They went still further, and carrying Michael in irons as he was, as they could not find the keys of them, they placed him on the throne. The empress Theodosia was banished to an island, with her four sons, who suffered the same operation that Theophylacticus had undergone. Leo reigned seven years and a half. Michael, in this singular adventure, appears to have been assisted by the catholics, who were inimical to Leo from his persecution of images.

Michael the
Stammerer,
826.

Michael shewed himself favourable to the orthodox, though he was himself but little solicitous concerning their disputes; as he rather inclined to Judaism. He observed the Jewish sabbath, denied the resurrection of the dead, and was but little scrupulous in his morals, for he took the daughter of Constantine Porphyrogenitus out of a monastery, where she was professed, and married her against her will. Euphemius, one

of the chief officers of the empire, thinking he might follow the emperor's example, committed a similar outrage: but Michael ordered justice to be inflicted on him, and that his nose should be cut off. To avoid this punishment, he was proclaimed emperor—the palladium, at that time, against crimination. A person named Thomas took the same means, to avoid suffering, from justice, for having seduced the wife of a magistrate. This Thomas gave much uneasiness to Michael; he gained two battles against him, and besieged Constantinople, but suffered at last the usual lot of such adventurers, both he and Euphemius were killed. Michael reigned near nine years, and died by disease.

Theophylus took pride in repairing the scandal caused by his father, replacing Euphrosyne in the monastery. And, whether through policy or justice, he punished the murderers of Leo, to whom his father Michael owed the crown. Two things are remarkable of him as a prince. He sincerely pardoned an excellent captain, who quitted his service from fear of ill treatment, and had turned his arms against him: he recalled him, and restored him to his full confidence. Of another, whom his soldiers, in consideration of his great qualities, had named emperor, he was far from shewing any jealousy; and though he did not confirm their choice, as he had children of his

Theophylus,
826.

own, he restored him to his situation, and bestowed on him the highest tokens of friendship.

His greatest enemies, that is to say, the orthodox christians, whom he harassed for their worship of images, acknowledge him to have been an observer of justice, a friend to his people, and perfectly disinterested. It is related of him, that observing a vessel in the port of Constantinople which appeared richly laden, he asked to whom it belonged; and being answered to his wife the empress Theodosia, he exclaimed, extremely offended, "Shall I suffer the wife of an emperor to be a trader? When princes apply to commerce, the subjects will soon perish with hunger." He then caused the vessel to be burnt. This punishment was striking; but had he distributed the riches it contained, it might have been more useful. Theophylus was an enemy to intemperance. He cleared Constantinople of prostitutes, and was a pattern of chastity himself. He revived some excellent laws, and reigned twelve years.

Michael III.
841.

His son Michael being then but six years old, his mother Theodosia took the reins of government into her hands. Through a spirit of contradiction, or ambition, she persecuted the iconoclasts, whom her husband had favoured. During the fourteen years of her regency she cleared the empire of that sect, as well as of the

manicheans, who were then very powerful. She had a brother, named Bardas, as sullied with vices as she was adorned with virtues. He found his nephew Michael highly susceptible of bad impressions; and as the empress was a restraint upon their irregularities, they resolved to get rid of her. But, learning their intention, to spare them their meditated crime, she abdicated the throne. Before she retired, she gave a public account of her administration to the senate; and in order, if possible, to check the idle expences of her son, she made known what considerable sums she left in the treasury. She then, with her three daughters, retired from court; but her son caused her to be shut up with his sisters in a monastery, where she died of grief a short time afterwards.

Michael, who had no longer any check, gave himself up to the most disgraceful irregularities. He took pride in imitating Nero, whom he proposed for his model; and in a short time expended the immense treasures left him by his mother. He was continually surrounded with buffoons, and wretches without honour or virtue, who turned the most sacred things into ridicule. Some of them would dress themselves in the sacred habits worn by the priests on solemn occasions, and, in these habiliments, imitate the ceremonials of the church. Whilst the emperor passed his life in scenes so scandalous, Bardas ruled with the most despotic authority.

His nephew named him Cæsar; but suspecting him of an intention to be something more, he caused him to be assassinated. As it was necessary for him to have some one on whom he could discharge the cares of government, he chose Basil great chamberlain; a man of very low origin, but tall, well made, of an agreeable countenance, and very dexterous in his exercises.

He had been noticed by Bardas for his dexterity in the breaking-in of horses, and through him he gained admission into the emperor's house, in which he rose to the highest offices; yet he it was who instilled into Michael the suspicions which cost Bardas his life. The emperor, in return, not only named Basil Cæsar, but appointed him his colleague. He applied himself to reforming the abuses of government, and even endeavoured to correct the vicious habits of the emperor. But learning that this prince waited only a favourable opportunity to rid himself of a troublesome censor of his actions, he entered his chamber whilst he was asleep, and had him killed before his eyes, in the twentieth year of his reign.

Basil, 261.

Could a crime be palliated, that of Basil might be excused; since he delivered the empire from a bad sovereign, and gave it a good one.—Basil governed with great justice and moderation. He raised men of merit only; and allowed all his

subjects to address him with freedom, which rendered him so dear to them, that they looked on him more as their father than their monarch. This good prince was near depriving of sight his son, falsely accused of an intention to assassinate him. Every body was convinced of the innocence of Leo, whom the emperor was continually importuned to restore to liberty. Tired of entreaty, the emperor forbade the naming of his son before him. One day, whilst he was conversing with one of the chief officers of the empire, a parrot, hanging in a saloon where the emperor was, who had often heard a regret expressed for the fate of this unfortunate prince, on a sudden muttered, "Alas, poor Leo!" His friends, profiting by the occasion, renewed their entreaties to the emperor, and he yielded to them. He died not long afterwards, in the nineteenth year of his reign, which was not wholly deficient in military glory. He left excellent rules of government to his son, comprised in sixty-six chapters, the initial letters of which form the following sentence: "Basil, emperor of the Romans, in Christ, to his dear son and colleague, Leo." From whence it appears, that if Basil was not the inventor of acrostics, he had at least a taste for them.

Leo was unfortunate in his wives, of whom Leo, 885. he lost three successively. His taking a fourth caused a schism in the Greek church, in which

such marriages were forbidden. His was disapproved by the patriarch Myfticus; and Leo, to obtain abfolution, fent Euthymius in his place. The clergy took part in the difpute; and even the people, fince it appears that a fanatic ftruck him a blow on the head in the church, by which he was knocked down. But matters being accommodated, Leo retained his fourth wife Zoe, by whom he had a fon named Constantine. During the greater part of his reign he carried on war with the Saracens, by his generals, who were fometimes fortunate, fometimes otherwife. His own attention was particularly directed to the government of the interior: and his actions, as well as his writings, obtained him the furname of the philofopher. He, with his own hand, re-vifed the laws of Juftinian. He wrote alfo on military difcipline, and the chafe; and fome treatifes of theology and hiftory of his remain. His reign, which lafted twenty-five years, excepting in a few inftances, was advantageous to his people. A happinefs which, to a fovereign, fupplies the place of all other praife.

Alexander,
911.

Leo, when dying, adjured his brother Alexander, to whom he bequeathed the crown, to hold it only in charge for Constantine; but the brother formed a defign of rendering his nephew incapable of poffeffing it, by castration. The young prince was only faved from the danger by its being represented to Alexander, that from

his constitution he was not likely to be long lived; fortunately the excesses of the uncle abridged his life, who, in the space of one year, had rendered himself equally detestable and despicable.

Constantine being but six years old, was a long time rather a spectator than an actor in what passed under his reign. His uncle had left him in the hands of tutors, more likely to corrupt than to form him to virtue. They were at the same time regents, but the senate dismissed them; and Zoe, the mother of the young prince, who had been removed to a distance, returned and seized on the authority. The Bulgarians, perpetual enemies of the Greeks, made irruptions, which obliged Zoe to raise troops against them, the command of which she gave to two generals, Romanus and Leo. These two men were no sooner at the head of the army, than they conceived the design, of which the execution appeared easy against such a child, either of seizing on the empire for themselves, or dividing it with Constantine. But these ambitious pretenders jarring instead of agreeing, the faction of Romanus gained the ascendancy. He caused his rival to be deprived of sight, and marrying his daughter to Constantine induced him to name his son Christopher, head of the allies, who were then the great support of the empire. He himself took the title of Cæsar, and after-

Constantine
VIII. 912.

wards that of emperor. He banished the empress Zoe ; and taking the whole authority into his hands, made peace with the Bulgarians: and the better to strengthen the power he had acquired, engaged the king of that country to take Julia, the daughter of Christopher, in marriage. The young emperor looked on these events without appearing to take part in them : but he formed his own designs, which were to suffer his enemies to ruin each other. Romanus associated another Constantine with him in the empire, instead of Christopher his eldest son, who probably died. His third son, named Stephen, became jealous, and the young emperor found no difficulty in engaging him to raise himself in opposition to his father. The legitimate emperor Constantine surprized them both, and caused them to be ordained priests, that they might aspire to the throne no more. The crime which Constantine had incited Stephen to commit against his father was attempted, and almost consummated, against himself by Romanus his son. He attempted to poison his father; but the emperor, at the moment of raising the cup to his lips, by a slip of his foot, spilt a part of the draught, yet still drank sufficient to make him very ill. After a reign of forty-eight years he left the crown to the poisoner Romanus.

Romanus
the younger
961.

His conduct on the throne was not such as to alter the opinion his paricidal attempt had

given of him. Romanus appears to have been one of the most debauched princes mentioned in history. In order to pursue his pleasures with more freedom, he placed all the authority in the hands of his great chamberlain Joseph, a simple and credulous man. If the Saracens were beaten during his reign, it was by his generals. He lived but three years on the throne, and died by poison, given him by his wife Theophano. He left two infant sons, Bupil and Constantine.

Joseph continued to govern with his accustom'd mildness: and called himself the friend of Theophano, who had undertaken the guardianship of her children. The troops were commanded by Nicephorus Phocas, an able general, whom Joseph, from an apprehension of his pretending to the crown, wished to displace: but Nicephorus coming one day to the minister, artfully informed him, that disgusted with the affairs of the world, he had long sighed after a monastic life, from which he had till now been dissuaded from affection to his governors, and the necessity of filling the important employments which they bestowed on him. The hypocrite entreated to be at length left at liberty to retire to a cloister; and at the same time shewed a hair shirt which he always wore. Joseph, affected by his representations, threw himself at the holy man's feet, and with tears in his eyes acknowledged to him the suspicions he had enter-

Nicephorus
Phocas, 964.

tained of him, entreated his forgiveness, and conjured him to continue in the command of the army. Nicephorus suffered himself to be persuaded; and, still more, to be elected emperor by the army, no doubt against his will. Those who can may also believe that it was from convenience only, that, although he was already married, the empress Theophano gave him her hand: but she had shewn him an affection from the first, of which Joseph, with all his meekness, knew not what to think. He was amazed at what he now beheld; and being entreated to confine his astonishment within the walls of a convent, retired to one, in which he died two years afterwards. Nicephorus gained great advantages over the Saracens, and began a glorious reign, when he drew upon him the hatred of Theophano. A pair, when married, do not always see each other with the same eyes as they did when lovers. She suspected him of a design of making eunuchs of her two sons by Romanus, Basil and Constantine. An act of injustice committed by the emperor against one of his generals, John Zimisces, gave rise to a conspiracy in which the empress took part. She herself opened her husband's chamber to the conspirators, who massacred him in the eighth year of his reign.

John Zimisces, 969.

The death of Nicephorus caused not the smallest emotion. John Zimisces assumed the

sceptre; but the patriarch required him to submit to a public penance for having murdered his predecessor. He threw the odium of the crime on his widow, which is supposed to have been preconcerted between the patriarch and the emperor, to place him under the apparent necessity of removing Theophano. He banished her to a monastery in Armenia, and associated Basil and Constantine, the two sons of this Me-jara, with him in the empire. A competitor arose, in the person of Bardas Phocas, a nephew of the late emperor's. John sent Bardas Sclerus, an able general, against them. Force was unnecessary, for the partisans of Phocas deserted him; and Sclerus promised to obtain grace for him from the emperor, who granted him his life, and only confined him to the isle of Chios. Zimisces, during his whole reign, fought against the Rossi, who are believed to be the ancestors of the Russians, whom he vanquished in several battles. On his return from these conquests he remarked superb palaces and well-cultivated lands on his road, which he found, on enquiry, to belong to the eunuch Basil, who had greatly enriched himself during the two last reigns. The emperor unfortunately saying, "Must the Roman empire then be abandoned to the rapacity of an insolent eunuch?" the expression cost him his life. A cup of poison was administered to him, the effects of which he felt,

but concerning which he suffered no enquiry to be made. He employed the short time he survived the fatal beverage in actions of piety and political regulations. Zimisces nominated Constantine and Basil his successors; and died universally regretted, after a reign of nine years.

Basil and
Constantine, 976.

Whether the assassin and poisoner Theophano had any share in his death is unknown; but it is certain she partook in the benefits arising from it. The eunuch Basil recalled her, in order to reign with her, in the names of the two princes, the eldest of whom was nineteen, and the youngest seventeen years old. The two Bardases have already been seen at variance; Bardas Phocas, the nephew of Nicephorus, and Bardas Sclerus, an able general, employed by Zimisces. They will be seen again opposing each other in the scene of action, which the youth of the two emperors provided for them.

Sclerus usurped the sovereign authority; twice defeated the imperial army; took Nice, and beat Phocas, who was sent against him. Phocas obtained his revenge by obliging Sclerus to fly to Babylon, where he was imprisoned by the sultan. The former being freed from Sclerus, himself assumed the purple. The sultan set the latter at liberty, who entered into an agreement with Phocas. They divided the empire between them, that they might the more effectually defend it against Basil and Constantine, who, not-

withstanding their youth, had taken arms, and pursued the usurpers. A division soon took place between the two Bardases. Phocas imprisoned Sclerus; and himself fell in battle against the two emperors. Sclerus, in consequence of the defeat of his colleague, shook off his fetters, and remained some time in rebellion, till at length submitting, he was favourably treated.

In the intervals allowed the two emperors from rebellion, Basil, to whom, as the eldest, all the disgraces and honours are attributed, made inveterate war against the Bulgarians, and gained signal advantages over them. It is related of him, that having taken a great number of prisoners, he caused all their eyes to be put out, and divided them into companies of a hundred men, each of which was conducted by a man who had one eye only put out; and in this manner they returned to Samuel their king. This prince, overcome by a sight at once so dreadful and so pitiable, fainted away, and died two days afterwards. What reader would not rather be the vanquished Samuel than the victor Basil? Whatever praises are bestowed on his valour in war, or his ability in government, this horrible act will sully his memory for ever. It is also to be remarked, that by his subjects he was more feared than beloved. He died at seventy years of age, having reigned fifty-one years.

His brother and colleague Constantine was not deficient in courage, or ignorant of the art of war; but in any other respect it was not perceptible that he was emperor. He thought only of his pleasures. Left to reign alone, he did not alter his conduct, except by seeming studious to overthrow whatever good his brother had performed; whose ministers he removed, and substituted in their places the companions of his own excesses. Fortunate were those generals, or magistrates, if estimable, who escaped only with exile, or the loss of sight. The tomb was opening to receive this libertine old man, when he was seized with some anxiety as to his children. He had three daughters, one of whom he wished his successor to marry. But Romanus, his ally, who was the person chosen, had already a wife. The emperor, therefore, sent for him and said: "Take your choice, of either repudiating your wife, marrying one of my daughters, and being proclaimed emperor; or having your eyes put out." A dreadful alternative to a man who loved his wife. She sacrificed herself for her husband, entered into a monastery, and Romanus espoused Constantine's second daughter, Zoe; three days after which the emperor died, at seventy-two years of age, having reigned only three years alone.

Romanus II.
1028.

Romanus signalized himself by acts of generosity, worthy the highest applause, toward the

poor captives, the number of whom had been excessively multiplied by continual wars. He redeemed them all, and sent every one to his own country, giving them money to support them in their journey. His liberality to the monasteries, which he enriched with magnificent ornaments, has also been greatly praised by ecclesiastical writers. His whole conduct evinced him to be a prince possessed of much piety; an endowment, which, united to his age of sixty-six years, was insufficient to secure to him the heart of the young empress Zoe his spouse. She entertained a violent passion for Michael, a man of low birth, and brother to the eunuch John, who was the emperor's favourite. The devout husband was poisoned; and as he died too slow for them, an apostate wretch, whilst he was in the bath, held his head under water till he was dead. He reigned five years and a half. While the emperor was expiring, Zoe sent, in his name, for the patriarch. When he came she had him introduced to her, and said: "The emperor is dead —to prevent all commotion, marry me therefore immediately to Michael, whom you see." The pontiff hesitated; but on the offer of a hundred pounds weight of gold his scruples vanished; and Zoe, scarce yet a widow, was re-married.

The whole government was then altered, and those who had most share in it under Romanus were deprived and banished, yielding their places

Michael the
Paphlago-
nian, 1034.

to the creatures of the eunuch John, who now seized on the whole authority. Zoe herself was not exempted from the sort of inquisition established by John for the support of his own power. He removed all the women and eunuchs in whom she had any confidence from about her person, and replaced them by people in whom he could trust; so that the empress became a kind of prisoner in her own palace. But what disgusted her still further was, finding that she had only exchanged one devotee for another. Michael, tormented by doubts, thought only of expiating, by acts of penitence and piety, the crime which had raised him to the throne. His brother John, observing his mind and body equally to decline, engaged him to associate with him Michael Calaphates, his sister's son. Zoe consented to the proposal, and adopted him. His pious predecessor, by his death, left him the diadem, after he had worn it near eight years.

Michael Calaphates, Zoe, Theodora, and Constantine Monomachus, 1041.

The eunuch John, in fixing on his nephew, had made a choice very hurtful both to himself and his other brother Constantine. Michael was prevailed upon by Zoe to banish his uncle John; whilst she, being accused of having employed magic to rid herself of the emperor, was confined in a monastery. This ingratitude to his benefactress raised the people against him, and they called Theodora, the sister of Zoe, who was

like her confined in a monastery, to the throne, on which they placed her jointly with Zoe. Michael concealed himself in a cloister, and with his uncle Constantine assumed a religious habit, after having worn the purple four months. Their fall might have seemed punishment sufficient, but Theodora insisted on their having their eyes put out. Zoe being once more on the throne, was required by her subjects to give them an emperor. Amongst the pretenders who arose, she preferred Constantine, surnamed Monomachus, a man of an illustrious birth and agreeable person—a qualification by no means indifferent in the eyes of the empress. She espoused him. The eunuch John, banished to Lesbos, had his eyes put out, and Monomachus governed with wisdom and prudence, as fortunately as the incursions of the barbarians, with which the empire was continually harassed, would allow him. We are ignorant what share he gave Theodora in the government, all that is known is, that he always treated her with attention and respect. But Zoe his wife being dead, and finding himself decline, he did not choose his sister-in-law Theodora for his successor. On being informed of this, she quitted her convent, and caused herself to be declared empress. This bold step so much terrified Monomachus, that he fainted on hearing of it, and died in the thirteenth year of his reign.

Theodora,
1055.

Theodora filled with honour the throne she had thus assumed: her wisdom in the choice of ministers and generals; her impartiality in the distribution of justice, hearing herself every cause; as well as the moderation with which she exerted her authority, gained her the love and respect of the neighbouring nations. Theodora made a short trial of a crown she deserved so well. After having borne it a year and some months, by the advice of her minister, who was still desirous of reigning, she left it to Michael Stratoticus, a man far advanced in years, who had not any notion of government.

Michael
Stratoticus,
1056.

Had hereditary law given then any right to the throne, it would have belonged to Theodorus, cousin to the deceased emperor. He made some attempts to gain possession of it, hoping to be seconded by the patriarch and clergy, whom he found deaf to his entreaties. They afforded him, however, an asylum in the church, which he afterwards voluntarily quitted for the exile in which he soon after died. Stratoticus, by his own deficient conduct, raised himself up a much more dangerous rival. He who ought to have conciliated the generals and soldiery as his chief support, gave them offence. They assembled, and elected one of their number to be placed on the throne the first favourable opportunity. So great was the negligence of his government, that the secret was retained many

months amongst the accomplices. It broke forth at length, and with astonishment it was learnt, that the greatest part of the troops of the empire, assembled in a vast plain, had chosen an emperor. Stratioticus, or rather those who governed under his name, collected soldiers sufficient to venture a battle, the issue of which proved unfavourable to him. Isaac Comnenus, the general who had been elected, then marched toward Constantinople, and was, by a decree of the senate, declared emperor. A deputation of bishops waited on Stratioticus to exhort him to abdicate the imperial throne; to whom he said, "What will you give me in exchange for it?" They answered: "The kingdom of heaven." This, had they possessed the power of bestowing it, was well worth what he gave up; and Stratioticus went to seek the road to it in a monastery, whither he retired after a reign of one year.

Comnenus's first care was the rewarding those who had raised him; his second, to fill the treasury of the state. He loaded the people with taxes, which became so burdensome, as to excite loud murmurs. To these he added all the wealth he could obtain from the clergy, which became another cause of complaint not less violent. The patriarch who ventured to express it, was displaced and banished. Isaac, after a reign of two or three months, retired to a monastery, and passed the rest of his days in exercises of piety

Isaac Com-
nenus,
1057.

Though he had children, and a great number of relatives, he named Constantine Ducas to succeed him, whom every one looked on as the man most worthy to replace him.

Constantine
Ducas, 1059.

The taxes still remained a cause of discontent and complaint, which became the more urgent, as it did not appear that the levies made by the emperor contributed to render the people more happy. He was continually harassed by invasions. The Turks, who had now been some time known, were the most dangerous enemies of the empire. Ducas, instead of repulsing them by his armies, which he found cost too much in levying and maintaining, endeavoured to keep them at a distance by donations to their generals. They received his presents, and then returned to extort more by new ravages. Ducas reigned in this manner five years and six months; when, reduced to extremity by an incurable disease, he left the empire to his three sons, Michael, Andronicus, and Constantine, and named their mother, the empress Eudocia, regent during their minority, after having obliged her to swear she would never marry again.

Romanus
Diogenes,
1069.

Two motives, which the emperor ought to have foreseen, broke the oath made by the empress—necessity and love. The discontented and ambitious, on some disasters being experienced from the Turks, declared publicly, that the present state of the empire required at its head a

courageous man, and not a weak and timid woman. Amongst these declaimers against government appeared Diogenes, a man of a good person, and an illustrious birth. He accompanied his words by actions, which caused him to be accused of aspiring to the empire. Brought before Eudocia to receive sentence of death, the princess was moved with compassion at the sight of a man who appeared in her eyes too amiable to be criminal; she granted him his pardon, and placing him at the head of her army, formed the design of marrying him. Her oath she had already in her heart dispensed with; and to prevent the people opposing her inclinations, it remained now only to get the same indulgence from the patriarch John Xiphilin.

She sent a faithful eunuch to that pontiff, who, in pretended confidence, imparted to him that the empress was enamoured of Bardas, his nephew, and had determined on marrying him, and dividing with him the imperial authority, if he would annul the oath she had taken, and persuade the senate that she might marry. The patriarch, dazzled with the expectation of seeing his nephew emperor, by his representations of the mournful state of the empire, and by declaiming against the rash oath extorted by the jealousy of the deceased emperor, obtained the consent of the senate. He then publicly restored to Eudocia the written oath of which he had

been the depositary, and exhorted her to espouse some man capable of protecting her and her children. She heard him with the utmost docility ; and a few days after, to the astonishment of the patriarch, married Romanus Diogenes, and had him proclaimed emperor. The fortune of war threw this prince into the power of Axan, sultan of the Turks. He received from him every attention which could alleviate misfortunes : but whilst he concluded with his generous conqueror a peace as advantageous as if he had been at liberty, John Ducas, the brother-in-law of his wife Eudocia, on the news of his captivity, drove her from the throne, shut her up in a monastery, and proclaimed the eldest of her three sons emperor. Romanus took arms against the usurper ; but was taken, and poisoned by order of John. As the poison, however, acted too slowly, his eyes were put out in so cruel a manner that he died a few days after, in the fourth year of his reign.

Michael
Ducas, 1069.

As Michael Ducas was extremely indolent, the whole power remained in the hands of John his uncle, which he secured by displacing or exiling all those who could oppose him. This arbitrary mode of proceeding raised him many enemies. The Turks, who no longer contented themselves with irruptions on the frontiers, but had established themselves in various parts of the empire, now found themselves called in by the

different factions, and by the commotions they fomented, gained footing for themselves. Rufelius, a native of Gaul, obtained several advantages over them, which emboldened him to get himself declared emperor. They sent against him a young captain, Alexius Comnenus, already famous for his victories. This rebellion was quelled by the captivity of Rufelius, who is no more mentioned; but it was followed by two others, those of Nicephorus Bryennius, and Nicephorus Botoniates. These revolts gave so much trouble to the indolent Michael, that he preferred giving up the crown to the continual fatigue of defending it. He laid aside the imperial purple, took orders, and became bishop of Ephesus, after having reigned six years and a half.

Of two competitors, Botoniates proved the successful one; through the bravery of Alexius, who subdued and delivered his rival to him. He likewise freed him from another rival, named Basilacius. During these successes, in which Alexius was assisted by his brother Isaac, he gained more advantage from an intrigue which took place at court, than from all his victories. The empress Maria, the wife of Michael, and reputed his widow, as it appears by his ordination to the bishopric of Ephesus, had espoused Botoniates. She had a son by her first husband, whom she married to the daughter of Botoniates. On discovering,

Nicephorus
Botoniates,
1077.

that notwithstanding the double right of this young prince to the crown, her husband, led away by the advice of two favourites, was ready to place it on the head of a young relative named Synademus, she had recourse to the two Comneni, Alexius and Isaac, to support her son's right. The favourites discovered the good intelligence between them, and endeavoured to get rid of these protectors of the empress: but they were timely informed of the intention; and in order to cut short all cabals, Alexius being at the head of an army, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Botoniates was not without resources; but he preferred yielding to the advice of the patriarch Cosmas, who was revered for his piety, and exhorted him to submit to the decrees of Providence, and rather yield up the empire than suffer the capital to be stained with christian blood. He was not long solicited, before he went to the principal church, where he deposited his imperial vestments; and from thence retired to a cloister, where he assumed those of a monk, after a reign of two years and ten months; leaving Maria the widow of a bishop and monk, who was still alive.

It is remarked, that the causes of decline of the Greek empire of Constantinople resembles those of the empire of the Seleucidæ, allowing for the difference of manners and religion. Amongst the Seleucidæ, the intrigues of the

court originated in the marriages which took place between the brothers and sisters, whose children disputed with equal right that sovereignty which they weakened. The same consequences followed the confusion of marriages amongst the Greeks, which, giving rise to the same mixture of pretensions, brought on the like confusion. Both in the one and the other empire the revolution was prepared by minorities, the influence of women, the inexperience of young princes, the shortness of reigns, and as much by the continual shocks which the state experienced from the assaults of hordes of surrounding barbarians, as by their perfidious alliances. Yet sometimes a prince appeared who supported, with a strong hand, the tottering fabric of the state, and for a while delayed its fall.

From the chaos of its ruins, as from that of the Seleucidæ, new kingdoms, and even empires, arose, though much less considerable than those of the successors of Alexander. We shall, in a hasty digression, give some account of the empires of Trebrisond and Nice.

Trebrisond was the empire of the Comneni. Escaped from the bonds of the tyrants of Constantinople, their relatives, they raised a state from the eastern parts of Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia. It no more deserved the name of empire than that of Nice, of which we shall

hereafter speak; but the two sovereigns emulatively assumed a title, which has continued to be applied to their dominions. Trebifond, assaulted by the Greeks, Latins, Turks, Saracens, and Persians, and more immediately by the emperors of Nice, sometimes at once, and sometimes separately, struggled so bravely against their attempts, as to make us regret that there remains nothing but hints of the exploits of this little empire, without any circumstantial detail. Scarcely any thing is remarkable but its last catastrophe. Mahomet II. surnamed the Great, gained possession of the capital in the fifteenth century; and, in violation of his word, loaded David Comnenus with irons, and put him to death. He led the empress, her daughters, and all the nobility, in triumph to Constantinople, which he had taken. He incorporated eight hundred of the best-made of the Trebifontines in his corps of janizaries, and distributed the women and maidens who had any agreeable endowments to recommend them to his generals. The capital was taken and the whole empire subdued in the year of Christ 1462, after a duration of 268 years.

1086.

The empire of Nice was founded by Theodorus Lascaris, son-in-law of the tyrant Alexius Angelus. Having escaped from under the government of his father-in-law, he fled to Bithynia, by whose inhabitants he was received with joy. From Phrygia, Media, Lydia, and Ionia,

from the Meander to the Euxine, an empire was formed, which he maintained by his valour against the attacks of his father-in-law, and the sultan of Iconium. He left it at his death to the valiant John Ducas, surnamed Vataces, whose courage and ability extended it still further, and almost to the gates of Constantinople. The reign of his successor, which existed three years only, followed by a minority, commotions, and treachery, abridged the duration of this little empire; and at the end of forty years plunged it into its original nothing.

Alexius Comnenus retarded, as far as he was able, the dismemberment of the empire. His actions evinced him to have been equally prudent as a governor, profound as a politician, and great as a warrior. Notwithstanding the ready docility of Botoniates, the troops of Alexius had committed disorders in Constantinople, which had given great offence both to the clergy and people. Alexius, touched with remorse, or pretending so to be, appeared before the patriarch in a penitentiary habit; and having acknowledged himself guilty, demanded that a penance should be inflicted on him proportionable to the enormity of his fault. The patriarch enjoined him, and the companions of his irregularities, to fast, lie upon the ground, and practise many other austerities, during forty days. The penance was exactly fulfilled, parti-

cularly by the emperor. But, after having shewn this respect to religion, he thought it no crime to appropriate the property of the church when he wanted it; a liberty which was not suffered without resistance, and which ended in exciting commotion.

This prince was continually at war, not only with the Turks, Saracens, and other natural enemies of the empire, but against the west also, which then fell with all its weight upon the east, by the famous crusades, the first irruption of which Alexius had to sustain. They were preceded by those of Robert Guiscard, the son of Tancred, lord of Hauteville. This Norman, not finding enough for his numerous family in his own country, sent his sons to make a settlement elsewhere. The youngest of them, though not ill settled in Apulia and Calabria, like his father, found not a sufficiency, and endeavoured to seek it amongst his neighbours. It is believed that he thought of nothing less than rending the empire of Constantinople from Alexius; but he died in the interim, after a war very ruinous to both parties, and in which Alexius gained himself no advantages, but such as the adroitness of his policy secured by the diversions he raised against his enemy.

Alexius was scarcely freed from this enemy, when he beheld himself attacked by the Scythians, who invaded Thrace. He repulsed them

at first by arms, and afterwards by treaties, the conditions of which he haughtily dictated. He was no less fortunate in various encounters with the Turks. But all his abilities were necessary to maintain himself against the crusaders. His conduct, with respect to them, has been accused of duplicity; greatly distrusting them. It is certain he made them promises, which he afterwards retracted, hoping thereby to reduce them to die by famine and misery; for it was not to his assistance that they came, but impelled only by a degree of religious madness, which a prudent prince could not approve. Beside the multitude who committed infinite irregularities, who pillaged, ravaged, and famished the country wherever they passed, and had been every-where driven out and pursued as robbers, the princes and nobles who commanded the army were equally greedy of gain. It was well known that the greatest part of them quitted their native homes less from a zeal for religion than a desire of conquest; and were extremely disposed to invade whatever they should find suitable to them. Might not Alexius therefore fear that for want of finding a settlement elsewhere, they might despoil him, and even drive him from his capital? a suspicion, the experience of his successors proved to be but too well founded. Besides that kind of chicane usual between persons divided in opinions and interests, Alexius carried on a serious

war with Boemond, a prince of the crusade; it was ended by a treaty, the last this emperor made. He died by disease, after a reign of thirty-one years. He was grateful, generous, and liberal; and the excitors of various conspiracies which broke out during his reign, were never punished beyond exile and the confiscation of their property.

John Com-
nenus, 1118

The last moments of Alexius Comnenus were troubled by those solicitations which the dying are not sufficiently spared. His daughter Anna, in conjunction with the empress her mother, wished him to name her husband Bryennius to the succession, but the emperor remained firm for his son John. This prince, on mounting the throne, had to maintain himself against the attacks of the cabal. He dispelled it, and punished those he suspected of infidelity only by removing them from court. He repulsed the Turks, Scythians, Servians, and Huns, from his frontier, and made himself master of the kingdom of Armenia. Whilst he was preparing for other conquests, he died from the scratch of a poisoned arrow which fell out of his quiver. He put no one to death during his whole reign; a humanity which rendered him as much beloved by his subjects, as his courage and ability made him dreaded by his enemies, to which a degree of good fortune was united in all his expeditions, and attended him through a reign of twenty years.

He preferred his youngest son Manuel for his successor, who immediately put his elder brother Isaac under confinement; but on his making a solemn promise to enter into no conspiracy, he released him. Isaac was obliged to yield to these conditions, from having rendered himself obnoxious to the people during the life-time of his father. The crusaders made the same complaint against this emperor as against his grandfather Alexius, to which the like justification may be offered. His genius was uncommonly active, and when he had no wars to employ him, he entered into religious disputes; and as he took pleasure in refining on them was the inventor of some heresies. Before his death he assumed the monastic habit, which he looked on as expiatory of the dissoluteness in which he had passed his life during a reign of thirty years.

His son and successor, Alexius Comnenus, who was but twelve years old, he left under the guardianship of his mother. The empress, to keep all the authority to herself, brought him up in a love of pleasure and ignorance to business. Of this authority she made Alexius, president of the council, depositary, who was more in her favour than was suitable to her honour. The ill conduct of the mother proved the misfortune of the son. The contempt he inspired rendered the people favourable to the usurpation of

Manuel
Comnenus,
1143.

Alexius
Comnenus,
1180.

Andronicus, first cousin of the deceased emperor; who found scarcely any obstacle to getting the president Alexius, the empress, and her son, in his power. He had the eyes of the first put out, the mother he coldly saluted, and prostrated himself before the youthful emperor with the utmost respect, intermingling in the compliments he addressed to him passages of scripture appropriate to his circumstances. The tyrant was a hypocrite deliberately cruel, who after assisting and participating with apparent devotion in the mysteries of religion, as he turned from the altar could give orders for torture and assassination. Not content with being the guardian of the young prince, he caused himself to be declared his colleague; and spared not those who had contributed to his elevation more than the rest, exiling such as he could not poison. The empress was strangled upon pretences absolutely void of all foundation. The same end awaited the unfortunate Alexius in the third year of his reign, and fifteenth of his age.

The usurper destroyed all without distinction, whom he believed attached to the family of Alexius, or capable of avenging his death. Scarcely a day passed unsullied by some cruel execution, and in a short time the flower of the nobility was exterminated; yet the pitiless tyrant complained of the necessity which prevented him from pardoning all men of merit. The people grew

tired of the bloody spectacle ; and the danger of Isaac Angelus, a person of high distinction, whom Andronicus intended to assassinate, excited the compassion of the multitude : they gathered together in a church where he had taken refuge, and proclaimed him emperor. The tyrant endeavoured to save himself by sea, but the winds drove him back ; he was taken and led to Isaac, who abandoned him to the populace, from whom he for three days endured the cruellest torments. If, notwithstanding all his hypocrisy, he preserved still some sentiments of religion, they were of use to him in this trying occasion. He bore their tortures with admirable courage, repeating from time to time—" Lord have mercy on me." Shewing no impatience, and using no reproaches to his executioners, he uttered, without bitterness, these words: " Why do you bruise a broken reed ?" Since it was at seventy-three years old that Andronicus had seized the throne, from which he was two years afterwards precipitated by this cruel death, it may be said, that ambition is of every age.

Isaac Angelus gained the affection of the people by his gentleness and moderation, and that of the great by recalling the banished, and raising several families who had fallen from their ancient splendour. He received the reward of his benevolence in the attachment evinced by his subjects on the revolt of Branas, one of his

Isaac Angelus, 1184.

generals, who besieged him in Constantinople. The emperor, who was no warrior, devoutly recommended himself to the prayers of the monks; and having with great ceremony placed an image of the Virgin on the summit of the walls, full of confidence in these precautions, remained quietly in his palace. A leader of the crusades, Conrade, marquis of Montferrat, soon taught him that these measures were insufficient for his safety. He then put himself at the head of the inhabitants, repulsed, and killed Branas with his own hand. Isaac had that defect of weak minds, the expecting to extricate himself by subterfuges. It was thus he hoped to amuse the German emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, who led a powerful army to the assistance of the crusaders; but Barbarossa took by force the provisions and other necessaries which the Greeks had promised him. Isaac suffered other disasters from the enemies of the empire, and particularly the Scythians. These misfortunes gave occasion to his brother, Alexius Angelus, to represent him as incapable of governing, and to dethrone him at the end of ten years. He cast him into prison, and added to his injustice the cruelty of depriving him of sight.

This barbarity was rendered the more detestable by Isaac's having always treated his brother with kindness. The latter probably repented his crime, as he had him taken out of

prison, and sent for Alexius his son, about twelve years of age, to court. The former emperor, notwithstanding his blindness, found means to maintain a correspondence with his daughter Irene, wife of the emperor of Germany. Measures being nearly taken, Alexius escaped from the court of his uncle, went to his sister, and raised the princes of the west. The Venetians, who were then very powerful, undertook to transport the troops, the greater part of which were French, and themselves to contribute to restoring the blind monarch to his throne, having agreed for a sum to be received after the event. They proceeded directly to Constantinople, which they besieged. The tyrant finding himself on the point of being taken, fled to the foot of mount Hæmus in Thrace, bearing with him in his flight the imperial ornaments and treasure. He was no sooner departed, than the inhabitants of Constantinople opened their gates, and restored to Isaac Angelus his sceptre, three years after he had been deprived of it. He survived his restoration but a short time.

Alexius his son enjoyed it for a still shorter period. He was obliged to load his subjects with taxes, for the payment of the Venetians and French; which, added to the friendship and esteem he openly manifested for his deliverers, caused a general discontent amongst the people, who were sworn enemies to the Latins. This

Alexius
Murzaup-
lus, 1204.

inclination amongst the commonalty, engaged John Ducaś, surnamed, from the thickness of his eye-brows, Murtzuphlus, to attempt usurping the sovereign authority. In order to attain it, the artful Murtzuphlus prepossessed the young emperor against the Latins, whom he had till then protected. From slight disagreements, carefully fermented, hostilities arose. Murtzuphlus, in a pretended attempt at accommodation, went so far as to desire the entrance of the Latins into Constantinople, in order, as he said, to secure Alexius from the fury of his rebellious people; whilst, on the other hand, he circulated that the emperor had sold the city to his friends, the Latins, who were advancing to take possession of it. During the tumult excited by this information, Murtzuphlus entered the chamber of Alexius, and with his own hand strangled the unfortunate emperor. He then boasted of this action to the people, as of a service to the cause of freedom, and was himself proclaimed emperor.

The indignant Latins besieged the usurper in the town. As he neither wanted courage nor experience, he bravely defended himself. The walls underwent several assaults. The French first raised their standard on one of its towers. The Venetian flag flew there also. Three of the gates yielded to the blows of the battering-ram, and the whole army entered at night in order of battle. They seized and occupied the nearest

posts, and remained on their guard, expecting a violent conflict on the approaching day. But at morning dawn, the Latins beheld, with the utmost surprize, the processions of suppliants approaching from all quarters of the town, bearing crosses and banners, the images and relics of their saints, and crying for mercy. The conquerors spared their lives. One day was allowed for pillage, without bloodshed or violence; on condition that the whole booty should be brought to a common stock, to be afterwards divided according to rank and merit. The shares proved inconsiderable, as the night had afforded time for the removal or concealment of many things; and the soldiers, notwithstanding the orders they had received to the contrary, had secured individually many valuable effects. The general booty, without reckoning the pictures and statues, amounted to an incredible sum. Murtzuphlus escaped, by favour of a small vessel, with Euphrosyne, widow of the usurper Alexius Angelus, and her daughter Eudoxia, for whom he had abandoned his lawful wife; an alliance, by which he no doubt reckoned on securing a right to the empire, from the pretensions of his father-in-law, who had taken refuge at the foot of Hæmus. This great revolution took place 874 years after the transferring the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople.

CONSTANTINOPLE UNDER THE LATINS.

Baldwin,
1204.

The Latin empire of Constantinople is to be considered as fixed to that city, and circumscribed within a greater or less extent according to the successes or reverses of the Greeks, Turks, Bulgarians, and even the Latins, who attacked it in all quarters. Baldwin count of Flanders was named emperor. Thrace was bestowed on him, with an absolute authority over the Greek provinces taken or to be taken. Thessaly was erected into a kingdom for Boniface marquis of Montferrat. The Venetians obtained the isles of the Archipelago, a part of Peloponnesus, and several towns on the Hellespont. Theodorus Lascaris, son-in-law of the tyrant Alexius Angelus, had been received in Bithynia, after his father had been driven from the throne, and had taken possession of the whole country from the Meander to the Euxine. He assumed the title of emperor, and fixed his residence at Nice. David and Alexius Comnenus, grandsons of the tyrant Andronicus, fixed on the western divisions of Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia, of which they formed the empire of Trebisonde. These various sovereigns, yet scarcely established, began to jar and act against each other. Baldwin attacked the fugitives from Constantinople, who had sought refuge in Thrace. They called in John king of Bulgaria to their assistance, who

cut to pieces the hopes of the emperor, and took him prisoner. We may judge of the cruelties committed by the Bulgarians in Thrace, from the barbarity with which the monarch himself treated the unfortunate Baldwin. He was dragged, laden with irons, to his capital: and after having his hands and feet cut off, was exposed in a desert to the wild beasts and birds of prey, in which dreadful state of misery he survived three days.

His brother Henry succeeded him, and had to Henry 1106. combat Theodorus Lascaris, who had been nearly supplanted by his father-in-law Alexius Angelus, whom he subdued and confined to a monastery, where he died. After a sanguinary war, Theodorus acknowledged Henry for emperor, who was contented with his submission. He then turned his arms against the Bulgarians, and Michael and Theodorus Angelus, who had assumed the title, and exercised the authority of despot of Ætolia and Epirus. Henry could not bring this country under his power; but died after a reign of eleven years.

His successor, and brother-in-law, Peter count Peter and Robert, 1217. of Auxerre, was assassinated by order of Theodorus prince of Epirus, in the territory belonging to him, through which the despot had given him permission to pass. His eldest son Philip declined a throne exposed to such a variety of hazards, which Robert, his youngest son, did not disdain.

In his time died Theodorus Lascaris, emperor of Nice. His son, being yet in early youth, he left his states to John Ducas, surnamed Vataces, who was married to his eldest daughter Irene. The Latin emperor Robert took the opportunity of molesting him, by supporting two uncles of this prince, who pretended to the empire. But Vataces, after repulsing Robert, stood himself on the defensive. The emperor of Constantinople reigned but nine years, during which he had the satisfaction of taking prisoner the despot Theodorus, his father's enemy, whose eyes he caused to be put out.

Baldwin II.
1228.

It is not known whether Baldwin, his successor, was his brother or his son. He was but eight years old, and was entrusted to the care of the celebrated John de Brienne, who had been king of Jerusalem. Unfortunately he was eighty years of age: yet he still lived nine more—long enough to secure the situation of his pupil; but the young prince was incapable of making use of the successes of his guardian. He lost his empire by little and little; and at length his capital, which was taken from him by one of the generals of Michael Palæologus, who had himself arrived at the crown of Nice from the station of leader of the troops of that empire. The city was taken by surprize, and the emperor Baldwin, having laid aside the insignia of his dignity, reached the sea with a small number of friends and the Latin patriarch. He retired to

Venice, leaving the Greeks masters of Constantinople, which had been sixty years possessed by the Latins. This empire began by a Baldwin, and ended under an emperor of the same name.

GREEK EMPIRE.

After a variety of vicissitudes, by which Michael Palæologus had been obliged to fly from the court of Vataces, to which he was afterwards recalled and raised to the first offices of the empire, and nominated guardian to a prince of nine years old, he acted for a time under the name and authority of the young emperor. But when once established, he inhumanly deprived his pupil of sight, under pretence of leaving no competitor in a city which he claimed by right of conquest as his own. Michael, in the privileges he allowed to the Latins, acted with policy in what he granted, in order to retain them. His principal attention was turned to commerce, which he wished to see flourish in his capital, where the Genoese, Venetians, and Pisans, were very powerful. To the first he gave one of the finest quarters of the city, with the right of being governed by their own laws. The Venetians and Pisans were not less favoured; and to put the seal on that concord which he wished to establish amongst all his subjects, he attempted a re-union between the Greek and Latin churches. But the patriarch and clergy of Constantinople

Michael Palæologus,
1261.

were displeased that the emperor acknowledged the supremacy of the pope. Michael grew angry at resistance, and punished his opponents by deposition and exile. The vexation caused by those commotions brought on a sickness, of which he died at fifty-five years of age, after a reign of twenty-four.

Andronicus,
Palæologus,
1283.

The first step taken by Andronicus his son was the conciliating the clergy, by annulling all that had been done by his father toward the union of the Greek and Latin churches. As he was easily offended, he entertained suspicions of his brother Constantine, and his ablest generals. These he removed from the command of his armies; in consequence of which the Turks, by whom he was pressed, gained many advantages over him. It was in his reign they first set foot in Europe, but without gaining any fixed establishment there. Andronicus, distrustful of his subjects, had introduced a large corps of auxiliary troops, Massagetes and Catalans, into his army, who formed its chief strength. These foreigners often made greater ravages in the provinces than the enemy. The people began to murmur, and, to avoid being themselves plundered, joined the plunderers, and the wretched empire, which had gained strength under Michael, fell again into confusion under Andronicus.

In the latter years of his reign he suffered

great vexation from one of his grandsons, named, like him, Andronicus. He was the offspring of Michael his son, a prince of a gentle nature, whom his father had associated with him. Michael had two sons, Andronicus already mentioned, and Manuel. The former appears to have had sense and an amiableness of manners, which was extremely pleasing to his grandfather; but he was a libertine in his conduct, surrounded by ill-chosen companions, and governed by a passion for women. Suspecting his favourite mistress of having a lover whom she preferred to him, he placed one night assassins in her apartment, who were charged to kill him who should come to visit her. Unfortunately, Manuel came that evening with a small train to visit his brother. The ruffians fell on the prince before they knew him, and loaded him with blows of which he died. Grief for this accident abridged the days of their father Michael, but it did not lessen the affection of his grandfather for Andronicus.

This young prince, originally but ill disposed, became wholly perverted by his vicious companions. The associates of his irregularities, hoping to profit by his authority whenever he should possess it alone, instilled into him the desire of freeing himself from that of his grandfather. The old man, being informed of his intention, spoke to his grandson with so much goodness,

that, melting into tears, the latter threw himself into his arms and promised amendment. But his repentance was not of long duration, and his second returning to guilt was more dangerous. The good emperor, to avoid a worse evil, determined on dividing the empire with him; but this proved too little for his ambition; admitted to a part, he desired the whole. His grandfather uselessly increased his portion of it; and the contest, which had till then been carried on with moderation between them, became more violent. Constantinople fell by surprize into the hands of the grandson, and the venerable Andronicus with it. He was not deficient in respect in his treatment of his grandsire, to whom he allowed his apartment and the honours of empire, though without the authority. But even this shadow of power soon gave him offence; and either by choice or force the old emperor retired to a cloister, where he wore the monastic habit two years, and expired in the seventy-second year of his age, after having reigned forty-nine years.

Andronicus
the Younger,
1332.

During the disturbances between the grandfather and grandson, the Turks made fresh progress in Asia, seized and maintained many places, and settled themselves in such a manner, that the Bosphorus only remained between them and Constantinople. Andronicus resisted them in vain; they imposed on him a heavy law, by which they retained all they had seized, promising to let him enjoy the remainder in peace. But

faithless to their word, they gave him no rest during the nine years he reigned alone. He died at forty-five years old.

Andronicus left two sons, John and Manuel, the eldest of whom was but nine years of age. The states named John Cantacuzenus, his relative, who had enjoyed the confidence of Andronicus, to be his guardian, and protector of the empire, during his minority. This choice displeased the patriarch, who himself aspired to the guardianship of the princes. By persuading the empress that Cantacuzenus intended to procure himself to be proclaimed emperor, he gained her support. It was this calumny which, in fact, led him to a throne he thought not of; since, in opposition to those who took arms against him, declared him an enemy to his country, and proscribed him, he was compelled to assume the purple in his own defence. This prince, who cannot be too much praised, was forced into war; since his endeavours at peace were rejected; his mother and all his relations were treated with barbarity; and himself attempted to be poisoned. But after a variety of victories, by which he subdued all which the Greeks possessed beyond Constantinople, the city itself fell into his hands. The intriguing patriarch was deposed and banished. A treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed that Cantacuzenus, now acknowledged the young emperor's colleague, should

John Palæ-
ologus and
Cantacuzen-
us, 1341.

for ten years retain the sole administration of affairs; and that after that time John, who would be then twenty-five years of age, should divide the authority with him. The former protector ratified these conditions, causing his pupil to espouse Irene his daughter, who was crowned empress.

Cantacuzenus, having been powerfully aided by the Turks, could not avoid living in good understanding with them. The clergy, who interfered too much in public business, and other devotees, were offended at it. They decried this intimacy; and by degrees alienated the affections of the people from Cantacuzenus: yet he governed with such equity and moderation, that his most inveterate enemies never produced a single charge against him. The time being come for giving up his part of the authority to the young emperor, he faithfully performed the conditions. Some persons having persuaded John Palæologus that Cantacuzenus meant to confine him in a monastery, the calumny brought on a distrust between the two princes, which ended in open war. Cantacuzenus obtained the decided advantage; when, in order to shew the injustice of the suspicions entertained of him, and to cut short all civil discord, he voluntarily retired to a convent, and adopted the life and habit of a monk.

This sacrifice loses some of its merit, when we

consider that the Turks had invaded nearly the whole of the empire ; that they were in fact established in Europe, and maintained themselves in forts at a short distance from Constantinople itself, which they now obviously threatened. The most perfect union only could have enabled the Greeks to resist enemies so powerful ; but discord everywhere reigned, and especially in the imperial family. Andronicus, the eldest son of John Palæologus, rebelled against him, was taken, and with his son, a child, deprived of sight. The emperor associated his second son, Manuel, to the empire. Andronicus, by a turn of fortune, which has been already displayed in an emperor of the same name, though blind, usurped the throne from his father and brother, and afterwards restoring it to them, contented himself with a small principality, to which he retired to live peaceably. His father, mean time, treated as a vassal by the Turkish emperor Bajazet, submitted to the humiliation of a tribute ; and gave his sole remaining son Michael to him as an hostage. He died in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, which was no longer fortunate than whilst divided with Cantacuzenus.

Manuel was at the court of the sultan when he received the news of the death of his father. He took his measures with the utmost secrecy, deceived his guards, and reached the territories of the empire before the troops sent after him

Manuel and
John, 1392.

could overtake him. Bajazet enraged spread devastation in Thrace, and invested the imperial city by land and sea. Manuel implored the assistance of the princes of the west, who brought an army of a hundred and thirty thousand men against Bajazet. The sultan completely defeated it, and returned once more before Constantinople. During the siege he made a secret treaty with John, son of the blind Andronicus, who bartered the empire as the property of his father, eldest son of John Palæologus. By this agreement, Bajazet engaged to restore the empire to John, on condition that he should transfer its seat to Peloponnesus, of which the sultan left and secured the possession to him and his descendants. Bajazet, in consequence of this treaty, declared to the inhabitants of Constantinople, that on their acknowledging John for emperor he would raise the siege. Manuel, sacrificing himself for his subjects, abdicated the throne, on condition only of removing his wife and children wherever he pleased. John granted all, and the dethroned emperor retired to Venice. When the fulfilling the principal condition of the treaty with the sultan came in question, which was the delivering up Constantinople, the inhabitants absolutely refused to accede to it; and, fortunately for them, Bajazet was attacked and made prisoner by Tamerlane. On the news of this event, Manuel returned, and was received with transport; and

John, whom his concessions to the Turks had rendered odious, was banished to the Isle of Lesbos. Manuel, taking advantage of the confusion which the victory of Tamerlane and the captivity of their sultan caused amongst the Turks, regained from them several provinces, of which he remained in quiet possession till his death, which did not happen till the seventy-fifth year of his age, and thirty-seventh of his reign.

He left two sons, John and Constantine. Under the reign of the former, the Turks retook all the provinces they had lost on the misfortunes of Bajazet. Their emperor Amurath laid siege to Constantinople. As Bajazet had been compelled by Tamerlane to give up a conquest he believed certain, Amurath was deprived of his by the brave Hungarian John Hunniades, whose exploits have rendered his name famous. Yet notwithstanding the advantageous diversion effected by this great foldier, the Greek emperor was compelled to enter into an humiliating treaty with the Turk, and submit to dishonourable conditions. The vexation he endured on this account, and that occasioned by the divisions of his church, which he had wished to unite with the Roman, in order to secure the succours of the Latin princes; the death of the empress, to whom he was greatly attached; and the insolence of Amurath, who still making new pretensions treated him with the utmost haugh-

John Palæologus, 1424.

tiness ; all these vexation united undermined his constitution, and he sunk under the weight of his misfortunes, in the 27th year of his reign ; leaving to his brother Constantine an empire almost circumscribed within the walls of Constantinople.

Constantine,
1448.

Two years after the accession of Constantine to the throne, Amurath was succeeded by Mahomet II. The forbearance he affected to shew toward the Greek emperor, and other christian princes bordering on his states, was the more readily believed to be sincere, since he was born of a christian mother. But the seizure of Constantinople had been long agreed on in the councils of the sultan. Amongst other preparations, Mahomet had built two forts on the Bosphorus, the one in Europe, and the other in Asia, which commanded that important strait, and blocked up the capital of the Greek empire. Constantine finding all complaint of these hostilities useless, applied himself to providing provisions for his city, filling the magazines, and soliciting by his ambassadors the assistance of the princes of the east, for the dispelling of the storm which threatened his capital. But the christian princes were too much taken up with domestic dissensions to afford him any succours. One only adventurer, a Genoese, named John Justiniani, brought a considerable number of volunteers to his assistance ; and to him Constantine, in con-

sideration of his courage and ability, gave the command of all his forces.

The forces of Mahomet, when he appeared before the city, amounted to three hundred thousand men, whom he in person commanded. He still augmented their numbers during the siege, which, after various partial attacks, terminated in a general assault. Constantine had in vain endeavoured to prevent it by offers to the sultan, in which he had even proposed acknowledging himself the vassal of the Turk, and agreed to pay him tribute. Mahomet required the city to be delivered to him; but Constantine replied: "I ought to save my capital, or fall with it." The unfortunate prince kept his word. He prepared for the last assault by a participation of the mysteries of religion; and haranguing the nobles, and people, entreated them to signalize their courage in defence of their religion and empire. From the church he returned to his palace, where he took leave of his ministers, as if he expected to see them no more; and assigning to each man his post, marched to his own, which was that of the greatest danger.

The attack was dreadful; but it was sustained by the defenders with intrepidity. Whilst the fortune of the day yet being in suspense, Justiniani was wounded; and it is said that his courage vanished on seeing his own blood. It is certain he deserted his post, and was conveyed to Ga-

lata, where he is averred to have expired with shame. The emperor remained firm in his, beholding Palæologus, Comnenus, and Cantacuzenus, falling round him, till he remained furrounded by enemies only. In the bitterness of grief he exclaimed: "Has death then not spared one *christian* to take my life!" As he spoke, a Turk, to whom his person was unknown, struck him a blow on the face; a second from another hand succeeded; he fell, and expired in the forty-ninth year of his age, and tenth of his reign; an example worthy to be held up to every unfortunate prince, to whom it is more honourable to die with their defenders than to survive them. Mahomet paid the homage of admiration to his courage, and ordered the last funeral rites due to an emperor to be rendered him; and, according to his promise to the soldiers, the city was abandoned to their plunder. Thus ended in Constantinople, in the year 1453, and under a Constantine, the empire established by another Constantine, eleven hundred and twenty-three years before.

CARTHAGINIANS.

Carthage in Africa, between the river Tufca, the Mediterranean, the Garumantes, and Lybia Interior.

After having conducted the Romans uninterruptedly to the last period of their grandeur, it is fitting to give some account of their most celebrated antagonists, the Carthaginians. Carthage, the rival and emulator of Rome, on this ac-

count alone so famed, also commands attention, from her laws, her government, and commerce, as well as her political, military, civil, and religious institutions. This city was situated at the bottom of a gulph, in a peninsula near the spot where Tunis now stands ; and was more ancient than Rome by thirty, or, as others say, a hundred years or more. Dido is acknowledged for its founder, on being compelled to abandon Tyre, and fly from the avarice of her brother Pygmalion : yet it appears she found inhabitants, although few in number, already settled there, whom its advantageous situation had invited. But to her and her Phœnicians the city was indebted for that first foundation which announced its future greatness.

Succeffive additions raised it to a rank amongst the finest and strongest cities of the world. In its hour of splendour it was surrounded by a triple wall, flanked, at intervals, by towers. Between the walls, under arcades, were stables of sufficient extent to receive three hundred elephants, and four thousand horses, with all things necessary for their maintenance and support, besides barracks for twenty thousand foot soldiers. Two different ports were allotted, the one for commerce, the other for vessels of war, of which it could contain and shelter to the amount of two hundred and twenty. These ports were surrounded with beautiful parapets.

and arsenals filled with military stores. The city was built on four small hills, on the highest of which stood the citadel, strong from situation, and rendered still stronger by the surrounding out-works. We may imagine what were the temples and public edifices of a town containing seven hundred thousand inhabitants, and possessing, for six centuries, almost uninterruptedly the empire of the sea, and the consequent commerce of the known world. Of all this grandeur nothing now remains but a barren flat, which covers the ruins buried within its walls; similar to the ocean, which, under its unruffled surface, conceals for ever the riches shut up in its profound abyss. Its position and extent are now only to be judged of by the still apparent remains of its drains and reservoirs.

The Carthaginians were, at one time, in possession of the greater part of Spain, Sicily, and the islands of the Mediterranean; besides their establishments in other countries for the support and extension of their trade. But their immediate territory round them consisted in what now forms the kingdom of Tunis. The town of that name was a part of the Carthaginian domain, under the name of Tunes. Utica was reckoned next to the capital, and next to that Hippo. We shall not mention others which bordered on the coast, or arose in the remoter parts of the country in great number. The ma-

jority of them were situated on lakes, which occur not unfrequently in this part of Africa. For the support of these establishments, every spot amidst the burning sands which surrounded them, capable of culture, became the object of their attention. But their utmost industry could produce only a narrow boundary of fertility along the edges of the lakes, and inconsiderable rivers, which water this region. The soil of Carthage itself was extremely fertile.

The first government of Carthage is supposed to have been monarchical: at what period it assumed the republican form is unknown. The republic was composed of the people, a very numerous senate, and two suffetes, or magistrates who presided there. These suffetes answered to the consuls at Rome, and kings at Lacedemon. But they rather resembled the former, not being, like the latter, for life. They were chosen from amongst the richest of the citizens, that they might be able to maintain their rank with splendor. The dignity of senator depended on the election of the people, and the senators themselves; but the manner of this election is not well known. When the votes of the senate were unanimous, they had the power of laws; and from them there was no appeal. When the suffrages were divided, or when the suffetes stood alone, the business was referred to the people, who then pronounced finally.

Govern-
ment.

From hence, says Polybius, arose the misfortunes of Carthage; since in the last Punic wars, the voice of the people, misled by their orators, prevailed over the senate. There were, besides, two other tribunals, whose destination and authority can be now only conjectured. The centumviri, or council of a hundred, chosen from amongst the senators; and the quinqueviri, or counsel of five, chosen out of the number of the centumvirate. It seems probable that the centumvirate discussed and proposed matters to the senate; and that the quinquevirate watched over all, even the suffetes themselves, and were nearly the same as the state inquisitors at Venice. But whatever were the powers of these various orders, they appear to have been wisely formed and balanced; since in the history of the republic, no example for a long time occurs of sedition, violent and untractable commotion on the part of the people, or oppression on that of their governors.

Religion.

The detestable custom of offering children to a god, supposed to be Saturn, and burning them in honour of him, remained a long time in force at Carthage. These children were of the first families: their mothers were bound to assist at the dreadful sacrifice; and were esteemed in proportion as they shewed no marks of sensibility. In times of distress, the number of two hundred were burnt at one time, by the superstitious Car-

thaginians. There were few of the Egyptian, Greek, Roman, or Phœnician gods but what they adored, with the most absurd superstitions of other nations. Amongst these may be reckoned that of female prostitution, which, recommended as an act of piety, was practised in their temples; and the profits of which served as the woman's portion. With respect to this, as to all other customs which shock common sense and pure morality, it may be observed, that they cannot be believed to have been general.

The remaining fragments of the Punic tongue Language, prove it to have been of Phœnician origin. It was afterwards enriched, like all tongues, and particularly those of trading nations, by the introduction of words from the various languages with which the commerce of the Carthaginians rendered them familiar. The Maltese retain many of its expressions. Their written characters partook of the Phœnician and Hebrew. The Carthaginians did not much encourage the sciences; though it would be unjust to say they absolutely neglected them: but the Romans destroyed not only the archives of this people, but all their literary or historical productions; a circumstance which ought to rank these masters of the universe amongst the most barbarous nations.

Their customs, like that of all other people, Customs, Character, contained a mixture of good and ill. None but

the condemned could inform any one of the death of a near relative, it being imagined that the bearers of such melancholy tidings would die in a short time. Criminals were therefore saved for this purpose. When any great calamity threatened the city, all the walls were hung with black. The soldiers were forbidden to drink wine during a campaign, the magistrates during their office. Every officer or soldier wore as many rings as he had served campaigns. The general who returned from an unfortunate expedition, though blameless, suffered death: yet they found generals. Their manner of exerting hospitality was by producing a broken mark which had been reciprocally interchanged, and this they presented to each other on meeting, and passed it to their families by inheritance. The Carthaginians were superstitious and credulous in the highest degree with respect to oracles and divinations: they are accused of obduracy, and even ferocity, and of being solely employed in amassing riches; nor was there any thing so low or disgraceful which they would not undertake for their acquisition. But it is to be remembered this character was given them by the Romans, as well as that stigma on their faith in treaties, *fidès punica*, with which the same enemies reproached them. The prejudices of the Romans against this people were so great, as to make Cicero say, when speaking of a

punic philosopher, " he was sensible enough
" for a Carthaginian." They were no lovers of
raillery, and their nobles were insupportably
arrogant. But men of heroic and generous
souls were to be found amongst them.

Differing from the Romans, who from the Army and
Marine.
surrounding nations formed soldiers as truly
Roman as themselves; the Carthaginians, shut up
in a narrow boundary, were obliged to seek for
distant mercenaries, who could not possess the
enthusiastic patriotism of the inhabitants of
Latium: yet the generals and leaders, who were
always Carthaginians, have frequently inspired
their army with an energy which made them
formidable, though from the too great mixture
of nations they could never attain the discipline
of the Romans. Their marine, formed by long
voyages, was equally intrepid and experienced.
But the same inconvenience which weakened
their armies attended their fleet: the number of
Carthaginian sailors was few in comparison to
the auxiliaries; in consequence of which their
most able admirals were liable to considerable
defeats. Their maritime tactics may be judged
of by the long voyages they performed for
discovery and trade. Himilco explored the
western coast of Europe. Hanno made the
circuit of Africa, sailed into the ocean, and
beheld the isles of Britain. Many others, whose
names are lost to history, made excursions of

greater or less extent in the foundation of that immense commerce by which Carthage became so rich and so formidable.

Commerce.

The commodities of their own produce, with which the Carthaginians supplied other nations, appear to have been wheat, fruits of all kinds, wax, honey, oil, and skins of beasts. Their manufactures chiefly consisted in all things necessary for the equipment of vessels. The invention of gallies, with four rows of oars, and that of large cables, is attributed to them. They drew from Egypt its fine hemp, paper, and wheat; from the coasts of the Red Sea, spices, aromatics, gold pearls, and precious stones; from Tyre and Phœnicia, purple, scarlet, rich stuffs, and tapestry. On their return from the western coasts, to which they transported their various merchandize, they brought back to the eastern, iron, tin, lead, and brass. Their most lucrative trade seems to have been with the Persians, Garamantes, and Ethiopians, which was carried on by caravans. This traffic was in the highest esteem; and the first persons of the state reckoned it honourable.

Their manner of carrying on their trade with the Libyans is worthy of remark. When the Carthaginians had entered some of their bays, they unladed their goods, and placing them on an elevated spot, returned to their vessels, having first by raising a thick smoke made known their

arrival to the Lybians. The latter then came to the spot where the merchandize was deposited, and having placed a certain quantity of gold near it, again retired to a great distance. The Carthaginians then again came on shore, and if the gold was sufficient carried it off and set sail, if otherwise, they returned to their vessels without taking any thing away. The Libyans, when they found the bargain not concluded, increased the sum till such time as it was taken away by the Carthaginians; nor did either of these people ever wrong the other: an example of honesty which, though interest was its basis, is highly worthy our esteem.

Dido, the founder of Carthage, by the manner ^{Dido, A.M. 2108.} in which she escaped the avarice of Pygmalion, appears not only to have been young and beautiful, but dextrous and bold; and historians attribute much wisdom to her. The fables of Virgil, it is known, represent her in the cave with Æneas, more tender than was fitting for a woman, who ought to have thought less of love than politics. On her arrival on the African coast, she is said to have asked only so much territory of the inhabitants as the hide of an ox could inclose. The gift being granted, she cut the skin into very thin strips, and by that means obtained a piece of ground sufficiently spacious on which to build a citadel. The Carthaginians long payed an acknowledgment or tribute to the proprietors

of the soil for what they had granted them. They further enlarged this state in a manner little liable to be imitated. The Cyreneans complained that they had gained ground on them, and it was in consequence agreed between Cyrene and Carthage, that two commissioners from each should set off on an hour agreed on, and that the spot where they should meet should be the boundary of either nation. Those deputed by Carthage, who were two brothers, named Philæni, exerting the utmost diligence, met the Cyrenean deputies much nearer their city than they had expected. The Cyreneans complained of being surprized, and accused the Carthaginians of having set off too soon, and consequently required that the agreement should be broken. "Propose then," said the Philæni, "some other expedient, and we will submit to it." The Cyreneans answered: "Either determine on retiring, or if you will yield nothing of the advantage you have gained, suffer yourselves to be here buried alive, and your tomb shall serve as a boundary." They little expected to be taken at their word, but the two brothers, without hesitation, sacrificed their lives to secure a greater extent of territory to their country: an action which will bear a parallel with that of Curtius, who sprung into the gulph for Rome.

The rise of Carthage was rapid, and in con-

sequence of the addition of the women whom the Syrians, who had brought but few with them, took in their way from the Isle of Cyprus, its population was the same. To acquire these females no violence was requisite, it being the custom of the Cyprians, on the arrival of strangers, to repair to the sea coast to obtain their portion. Carthage, by its trade, soon became a subject of envy to a neighbouring prince, Iarbas; and the beauty of Dido the object of his wishes. To obtain her town, he demanded the queen in marriage, threatening her with war if she refused. Either through repugnance to a lover possessing so little delicacy, or from fidelity to the manes of her first husband Sichæus, she refused him her hand; and fearing, according to some authors, that her subjects might compel her to a union, on which their tranquillity depended, voluntarily put an end to her life.

A void of several ages succeeds the death of Dido, during which we are ignorant of what passed either in Carthage or its colonies. We only know that the latter were rapidly formed by trade; and that the town itself acquired a degree of opulence and population, which must have rendered it the theatre of many interesting scenes. These would be the most desirable materials of an historian; "if," ironically says an author, "the virtue, generosity, greatness of soul, and "love of truth, so immediately belonging to the

“ Romans, had not thought it right to deprive
“ posterity of them; lest they should from thence
“ gather false ideas prejudicial to the cause of
“ honour and justice.”

Machæus.

After some maritime expeditions, by which Carthage became formidable even to the Phœcians, whom they defied on an element which was equally understood by both nations;—after their successes in Sicily, the advantages of which were suspended by domestic commotions, they turned their arms against Sardinia. But the undertaking, though under the direction of a very able general, Machæus, proved unsuccessful. They lost the half of the army on the spot; and, incensed at the defeat, banished the other half, with their leader, Machæus, who had conquered for them a part of Sicily, and extended their boundaries in Africa. Indignant at the ingratitude he experienced, he drew near the town, and besieged it with his remaining soldiers. There existed, no doubt, at that time in Carthage those divisions which arm the nearest relations against each other; and these prevented the attention due to Machæus, when he earnestly entreated that he and his fellow-soldiers might be restored to the rights of citizens. Yet the besieged, finding themselves hard pressed, deputed to Machæus Cartalo his own son, charged with proposals of peace.

The father and son, it will be easily conjectured, were of opposite parties. The latter had been

commissioned by his countrymen to convey the tenth of the spoils gathered in Sicily to the Tyrian Hercules, an acknowledgment of their ancestry, which was paid by the Carthaginians. This was a sacerdotal office : on his return from the discharge of which, as Cartalo passed near the camp of his father, Machæus invited him to a conference ; but he answered, that before he could obey his father, he must fulfil what he owed the gods. When he returned in deputation from the town, and still decorated with the priestly robes, his father, whom this pomp no way affected, said to him : “ How durst thou, “ wretch, appear before me, and thy unfortunate fellow-citizens, clothed with such “ magnificence ? Wherefore insult us with these “ tokens of luxury and happiness ? Was there no “ other place in which to display thy pride and “ insolence than this spot, which witnesses the “ disgrace of thy father ? Are not these superb “ vestments themselves the fruit of my conquests ? Since thou hast considered me not as “ thy father, but an exile, I also, in return, will “ behold thee no more with the eye of a parent, “ but that of a general.” In concluding these words, he caused a cross to be raised, to which his son was, by his order, fastened. The town surrendered ; and Machæus condemned those senators to death who were most forward in exiling himself and his army. He reformed the re-

publican government, as far as suited his views of appropriating the sovereign power, which was the object of his ambition. But he was killed before the attainment of this end.

Bomilcar, rendered famous by his exploits against the Africans, introduced foreign troops into the city, of which was the chief strength of his army, and attempted to bring the republic under his subjection; but the inhabitants from the roofs of their houses destroyed the oppressors and their leader. We are ignorant whether it was prior to this attempt that the Carthaginians were so distrustful as to banish Hanno, one of their principal citizens, for his having first had the art to tame a lion. "He," said they, "who can tame a wild beast, may be sufficiently artful to obtain too great an ascendancy over the minds of his fellow-citizens, and deprive them of their liberty." But, notwithstanding the resemblance between the two animals, it does not follow that he who could soften the one, would be sure of subduing the other.

What remains of the Carthaginian annals does not exhibit those terrible seditions which sprinkled Rome with blood, and made her republic totter. In Carthage there were seven or eight powerful families—the Hamilcars, Asdurbals, Hannos, Bomilcars, Magos, Hannibals, and Himilcos—whose rivalry secured the public freedom. They mutually watched and counter-

poised each other, and one could no sooner tend to dominion than another opposed it. In the battles which took place between them, the various authorities of the suffetes, senate, centumviri, and quinqueviri, still remained and maintained the equilibrium; or if it were a moment destroyed easily brought back order, as nothing in the government was altered. Amongst the Romans, on the contrary, the constituted powers themselves took the field; the people wished to be superior to the senate; the tribunes, to the consuls: so that when peace was restored, various pretensions of each body, the seeds of future war, still existed. Amongst the Carthaginians nothing further was necessary than to suppress those rendered dangerous by their power, which they rigorously performed, banishing whole families at once. By the assistance of one powerful faction, they proscribed that which opposed it, who when, after a period of disgrace, they again restored to their country, brought back with them the hatred of their rivals. Thus the general, upon the credit of his partisans, placed at the head of the army, if unsuccessful, dared not return to Carthage; or if he returned, it was but to become a victim to the opposing cabal. Hence the frequent examples in the history of these people of vanquished generals killing themselves; or when returned into the city, of being punished for their ill fortunes by a cruel death. Yet it

does not appear that these catastrophes caused such sanguinary commotions as in Rome, because the government itself still remained unshaken.

The wars of the Carthaginians and Romans bear also a different character. The latter, in the flourishing days of the republic, fought only for its aggrandizement and glory; and the nations no sooner submitted to the consular forces, than they were sure of being protected and maintained in their possessions. The Carthaginians, on the contrary, being greedy traders, thought of gain only, pursued it wherever it could be obtained, and seized all which suited them, without any regard to its original possessors. Such at least is the character the Roman historians have bequeathed us of them. Had not the Punic annals been suppressed or destroyed, it had been highly interesting to trace the progress of these two republics.

Their knowledge of each other was marked with immediate and mutual distrust. The first treaty between them, of which the purport and date remains, fixed reciprocal limits to their navigation, bounding it by promontories and coasts, beyond which they were not allowed to land or to make any establishment. Two other treaties which preceded the Punic wars, are only extensions of the former. To the honour of the Carthaginians it should be remembered, that they unasked made offers of service to Rome on

the descent made by Pyrrhus into Italy. The Italian republic made its acknowledgments to that of Africa for the friendly offer with the cold politeness of a haughty rival. But notwithstanding the disagreements to which a contrariety of interests sometimes gave rise, the two nations a long time respected each other; and their mutual animosity did not begin till the Carthaginian conquests in Sicily became a subject of umbrage to the Romans.

The Carthaginians, before they carried their arms into this large island, had made their essay upon the lesser ones. On the Spanish coast they had subdued Ivica, established themselves in Goza, Malta, Corsica, and Sardinia. A war between the tyrants of Agrojentum and Heineria drew them into Sicily. The greater part of the immense army they led thither was in the pay of Darius, king of the Persians. They found themselves opposed by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, a general equally artful and brave, who neglected not any means of inspiring his soldiers with confidence. Having taken several prisoners, he picked out the worst made amongst them to raise the contempt of his soldiers for those with whom they were to fight, and exposed them naked in the sight of his army. But Gelon, when victor, treated the vanquished with mercy. Amongst the conditions he imposed on the Carthaginians is observed that of forbidding them in future to

offer human sacrifice. The Carthaginians imputed their defeat to their general Hamilcar, and being unable to punish him who had been slain, they banished Gisco his son, and deprived him of all he was worth, so that he perished for want.

His posterity rose from this state of humiliation, and Carthage gave Hannibal, the son of Gisco, an opportunity of avenging the disasters of his grandfather Hamilcar. Another expedition to Sicily was confided to him by the republic. But the laurels he gathered there were sullied by the horrible cruelties which he suffered and encouraged on the taking Selinus and Himera by assault. The rich spoils he carried off to Carthage impelled them to a new enterprize. Hannibal, to whom it was proposed at first, excused himself on account of his great age, but on their assigning him his relation Imilcar for lieutenant, he accepted the charge. The name alone of Hannibal spread terror along the coast, and opened his way to the siege of Agrigentum, where he died of the plague under its walls. Imilcar made himself master of this unfortunate city, which after being pillaged was delivered to the flames. He also seized on the strong forts of Gela and Camarina, on which he inflicted the same fate, and then sat down to besiege Syracuse. Many battles were fought at the foot of its walls and in its port. Imilcar was

driven from thence by a plague more dreadful than that at Agrigentum, which was succeeded by a defeat, after which he esteemed himself fortunate that Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, allowed him to return to Africa with the wreck of the most flourishing army Carthage had ever seen reduced to the most wretched condition. On his arrival at Carthage, Himilco declared he had only preserved his life to bring back his soldiers, whom he loaded with praises. "We were not," said he, "vanquished by the Syracusans, but by pestilence. The baggage they found in our camp was less the spoil of an enemy than an inheritance, which the accidental death of the proprietor left to those who remained behind. In all our disasters, what has most affected me is the surviving so many brave men, who died with arms in their hands." After delivering this speech, he retired to his house, the doors of which he shut, and without speaking to his fellow citizens, or even to his children, proved the sincerity of his words by putting himself to death.

Himilco had saved his fellow-citizens only, and abandoned the African auxiliaries to the enemy. The relatives of the sacrificed allies, enraged even to madness, assaulted Carthage. The Carthaginians, who in all public calamities were superstitious to excess, invoked all the gods, particularly those of the Greeks, and amongst

these more immediately Proserpine and Ceres, whose temples at Syracuse they had profaned; but the fleet they equipt, and the troops they levied in Spain and those parts of Africa which still remained faithful to them, were more serviceable to them than the favour of strange gods, to whom they sacrificed human victims. When they were relieved from this war, which was almost a civil one, they turned their thoughts again toward Sicily, where there remained some towns still well-affected to them. Their first attempts were favoured by the division in this island, and their invasion, in some degree, even authorized by the alliance they entered into with Dionysius. This prince claimed their support against his subjects, driven to rebellion by his tyranny; but small was the advantage he derived from their succours, since he abdicated his throne, and died an exile and a school-master at Corinth.

This town, from which the Syracusans believed themselves to be sprung, sent them Timoleon for a protector. He drove the Carthaginians from Syracuse, into which they had been received; and they suffered from him the most disastrous defeat they had ever experienced; in which the sacred cohort, composed of two thousand five hundred citizens, was utterly destroyed: and of ten thousand men who perished in the field of battle, more than three thousand were

Carthaginians of the first families of the republic: Carthage, always too easily discouraged by misfortune, asked and obtained peace: unlike the Romans, who could never treat for peace but after a victory.

It was about the time of this disaster that Hanno, one of the richest citizens of Carthage, believing the republic weakened by its losses, formed the project of overturning its constitution. To obtain this end, he designed to poison all the senators, whom he invited, with this intent, to a grand festival given on the celebration of his daughter's marriage: But the secret being betrayed by some of his domestics, his horrible project failed. Yet, so great was his credit, that dreadful as was the intended crime, none dared to punish it. The senate was contented to prevent it in future, by a decree, forbidding the too great magnificence of marriage festivals. Artifice not having succeeded, he had recourse to force, and armed all the slaves; but being once more discovered, he was obliged to quit the town, was overtaken in his flight, and brought back thither. Having been first beaten with rods, his eyes were torn out, the bones of his arms and thighs broken; and in this miserable state he was fastened to a stake to await the relief of death. All his children and relations shared his punishment, though they had not en-

2661.
A.M.

tered into his conspiracy. A horrible precaution, less the effect of prudence than popular fury.

2680.
A.M.

The Carthaginians, in their greatest reverses, had never been totally expelled from Sicily. They had still preserved some territory there; and ports, by which they re-entered the island, and renewed their warfare, whenever a favourable opportunity offered. The civil war excited in Syracuse by Agathocles, was one of those which they thought it wrong to neglect. Sometimes they were in alliance with the tyrant, sometimes with the nobility whom he had driven thence, for the establishment of a pure democracy, as the support of the throne he wished to erect there. The protection of the Carthaginians gave a superiority to the nobility; and Agathocles found himself pressed within the walls of Syracuse. At a time when his enemies thought it impossible he should escape them, after prudently providing for the safety of the town, he loaded his fleet with troops, adroitly deceived the Carthaginian admiral, and carried the war into Africa.

Agathocles gained a signal victory over the troops, levied in haste, with which the Carthaginians opposed him. His appearance excited the utmost astonishment, as the Carthaginians imagined his forces to be destroyed, since they

had been shut up in Syracuse; and they were at a loss to conceive by what means he had been able, after that, and in the face of a powerful fleet, by which he was blocked in, to arrive in Africa, and with the remainder of his beaten forces, himself beat an army stronger than his own. Prepossessed with the idea, that such a disaster could only be the effect of the wrath of the gods, their first care was to appease the tutelary deities of their country, Hercules and Saturn. To Saturn they had anciently offered the children of the best families of Carthage; and, blinded with superstition, they now reproached themselves with their deceit, in having sacrificed, in the room of children of quality, the offspring of poor families, whom they had purchased for the purpose. To expiate this strange species of impiety, two hundred children of the first families of the town were immolated to this sanguinary deity; and more than three hundred persons who reproached themselves with having failed in this duty, offered themselves as victims to appease the wrath of Saturn by their blood. Another horrible mark of their superstition was their sacrificing as a thanksgiving to their gods, for a victory obtained by them over Agathocles, all their prisoners of distinction. This war ended like all the rest. After ravaging Sicily and Africa, the Syracusans made peace on conditions which scarcely altered the position of the Carthaginians

in Sicily, and left them in a state to maintain themselves against such new adversaries as should present themselves.

First Punic
war,
A.M. 2740:

If we seek the pretext of the first Punic war, it may be found in the succours which the Carthaginians and Romans, when called on by the towns divided in interest, gave to one or other of them. The two nations became hence accustomed to see and combat each other as enemies. But the true motive on the part of the Carthaginians, was the desire of securing and extending their conquests in Sicily; joined to the necessity of humbling a haughty rival, and the resolution of preserving the command of commerce and the sea. The Romans were animated by similar motives: the rage of commanding; the fear of seeing a false friend, who had already offered their insidious assistance against Pyrrhus, set foot in Italy; and, say they, the dread or detestation of the Carthaginian character. But his motive might be easily reciprocal; for it will be seen that *Roman probity* was little preferable to *Carthaginian faith*. We ought therefore to acknowledge, that the true cause of their rupture was the opposition of their political views. It is certainly probable, that the expectation of gaining Sicily and Sardinia, which would naturally become the reward of the conqueror, had a great influence on the resolution taken by the Roman senate of entering into war with Carthage.

It was begun by a Roman tribune named Caius Claudius, who in a single bark traversed the straits of Messina, then guarded by a Carthaginian fleet, and entering the town in view of the Carthaginian garrison, invited the inhabitants to give themselves up to the Romans. Hanno, the Punic general, replied to the demand of Claudius: "Never will the Carthaginians suffer the Romans to be masters of the strait which separates Italy from Sicily, or ever to dip their hands in it." This declaration was followed by hostilities, in which the Carthaginians gained an advantage by sea. But this success did not prevent the descent of the Romans in Sicily, who at first gained a great advantage, by the alliance they made with Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, which secured them the possession of several towns. Though their rivals preserved their superiority on their natural element, the ocean; the excellent construction of their vessels, and their ability in manœuvring them, often disconcerted the best measures of the Romans, or rendered their valour useless. They were not, however, disheartened. They supplied their want of experience by the invention of the crow; a kind of machine, which, placed on the Roman vessels, lifted up, or, by its weight, pressed down and sunk the Carthaginian ships. It is seldom that what astonishes does not terrify. The efforts of these destructive machines se-

cured victory to the Romans in a decisive engagement, and facilitated their carrying the war into Africa, and under the very walls of Carthage.

They were commanded by Regulus; Regulus so celebrated by the tortures, according to some authors, inflicted on him by the Carthaginians. He conquered them in the first rencounter, and treated the prisoners with severity: and on their complaint, answered them disdainfully: "It is necessary either to know how to conquer, or to submit to the conqueror." After this conduct, it is not to be wondered at that when he was vanquished and made prisoner in his turn they should punish his arrogance, though perhaps with too much severity; but it is observable that they treated the other prisoners with humanity. This defeat expelled the Romans from Africa; but they remained still powerful in Sicily, where the town of Lilybæum only held out for the Carthaginians. The Romans laying siege to it, gave rise to many battles both by sea and land, which were followed by a peace extremely detrimental to the Carthaginians. Hamilcar Barcas, who was charged with negotiating it, reluctantly signed the conditions to which the distress of the republic compelled him to accede, and nourished from thence an enmity to the Romans, whom he accused of abusing their advantages. But his hatred rose to its highest

pitch, on finding that the Roman senate, not contented with the grievous clauses it already contained, would not ratify the treaty till others still more burthensome were added to it. Hamilcar acquiesced in them; but the resentment this treatment inspired may be reckoned as one of the principal sources of the second Punic war.

This war was preceded by another marked by every excess of the most dreadful cruelty. The republic found it necessary on the conclusion of the peace, to disband the mercenaries in which, unfortunately, consisted the chief strength of their army: but they were to be paid. Their treasury, exhausted by the expenses of the war, was empty, and the senate imagined that by making known its distress to these troops, they would remit a part of the debt. But these soldiers, amounting to seventy-two thousand veterans, thought it no part of their duty to spare the riches of a city which ought, in this situation, to have voluntarily made the necessary sacrifices. It made mediatory proposals, which were sent by Gisco, their former general, whom it was supposed they would respect. But they would not listen to him, threw him in fetters, and keeping Carthage in a manner blockaded, sat off to attack the towns of Utica and Hippacra, whose spoils might contribute to their support till their stipend was paid.

They chose two leaders, Spendius and Mathos.

Libyan war,
A.M. 2763.

The former, who had been a slave of Campania, was of uncommon size and courage. The second was an African, free born, and interested in supporting a rebellion to which he had powerfully contributed. They took a precaution, which no leader of revolt should neglect, that is, to render their accomplices desperate by the crimes they committed against those whom they offended. The Carthaginians who fell into their hands were, consequently, massacred without mercy; and even Gisco, their general, escaped not their rage, and no dispute arose amongst them but whether his death should be accompanied with torture or not. The opinion of Spendius was followed, and he was executed with seven hundred of his countrymen, like the vilest malefactors. Their hands were cut off, their bodies torn with wounds, and they were buried in the earth alive. The inhabitants of Utica, weary of the siege, entered into treaty with Spendius; and killing five hundred Carthaginians who served as their garrison, threw their dead bodies over the walls.

Some reverses obliged the rebels to come to an agreement. They compelled Spendius, their leader, to enter the camp of Hamilcar and Hannibal, who had been opposed to them. The generals, amongst other conditions, required that ten of the rebels should be delivered to be treated in what manner they should decide. The agreement was no sooner signed, than in virtue

of it they seized on the negotiators themselves, and immediately invested Tunes, to which Mathos had retired. The troops were scarcely encamped, before Hamilcar fixed Spendius to a cross within sight of the besieged. Mathos made a sally against Hannibal, who commanded in a separate quarter, took him prisoner, and ordering Spendius to be detached from the cross, nailed Hannibal to it in his stead; but Mathos being forced into a decisive action, was in his turn loaded with irons, and expiated his crimes by a cruel death. His army was scattered. Hamilcar attached to himself a part of it, now destitute of a head, and led them into Spain; as much to free Africa from their depredations, as to make use of them in his meditated enterprise against the Romans.

These rivals of the republic, during the late war, had appeared to take the most lively interest in the misfortune of Carthage; and under pretence of preserving Sardinia for it, into which the revolted mercenaries had penetrated, they introduced themselves there, keeping the towns out of which they had driven the rebels as a security for the reimbursement of their expenses. This politic conduct awakened the resentment Hamilcar had felt at the burthenome clauses which had been added to the Sicilian treaty. Attentively reflecting on the means employed by the Romans for the strengthening and extending their dominion, he observed that they

had arrived at their present power by making soldiers of those round them, whom they conquered. But as the Carthaginians, shut in by uninhabitable sands, had not the same resources on their continent, he determined to seek them in Spain, a country abounding in men easy to be subdued, from the great number of divisions amongst them; and which, when once they were trained to arms, would prove a nursery of warriors. He found not the conquest so easy as he imagined: and after nine years' war was killed in battle, at a time when he beheld himself surrounded with soldiers, whom his merits had attached, sufficient to carry the war amongst the Romans. His son Hannibal, then very young, was not with him; but he had already instilled into him that hatred with which his own heart was filled.

The son-in-law of Hamilcar, Asdrubal, succeeded him; who, though he suffered the Romans to set limits to his conquests, gained advantages more dangerous to them, by securing the affections of the petty monarchs of the country. He sent for his brother-in-law Hannibal, then twenty years of age. His youth, his graces, his talents, and the remembrance of his father, endeared him to the troops; who, on the death of Asdrubal, by the hand of a slave whose master he had killed, set him at their head. The young general soon realized the hopes conceived

of him by the army. By leading them against nations who had not yet been attached, he inured himself to war: and from those virgin countries drew both men and riches; men of whom he made excellent soldiers, and riches which he greatly distributed in Carthage, to attach the people to his side, and weaken the credit of the faction that opposed his family; which success alone could silence, if not subdue, and oblige it to leave Hannibal at liberty to execute his plan against the Romans.

Authors have exhausted every observation in endeavouring to decide on which side justice lay in the second Punic war, as if this virtue had never proved the leader of ambition. Hannibal began hostilities; but the Romans had long since, by their provocations to his father and brother-in-law, authorized a rupture on the side of the Carthaginians, of which Saguntum now became the pretext. This town, seated in the midst of the Carthaginian possessions, was very strong; and the Romans had expressly reserved it to themselves by treaty, in order to secure it as a rallying point against their rival. Hannibal would not suffer this citadel to remain to domineer over the Carthaginians. And after a long and bloody siege, it was taken and rased to its foundation. No precautions can be imagined wiser than those he took previous to the grand expedition he meditated. He sent Spanish

Second Punic war,
2780.

troops to Africa, to protect Carthage against any sudden invasion; and those with which he hoped to suppress any commotions fermented by the Romans in Spain were Africans. He united himself by treaties with the princes of this country; and incorporated many of their soldiers and leaders in his army, who became a kind of hostages for their countrymen. He sent negotiators before him to conciliate the princes through whose states he must pass; and to those who refused to grant his passage, he gave battle.

Hannibal, bearing the olive in one hand and the sword in the other, opened his way over the Pyrenees, from the banks of the Ebro to the borders of the Rhone. It was here his great difficulties began, in the conveying of elephants over this river on rafts. Yet none of them perished here; though from the precipices of the Alps few were saved. The Carthaginian general, in the narrow and untrodden ways of these slippery mountains, and in their eternal snow, lost a great number of his soldiers; so that his army, composed of ninety thousand foot and twelve thousand horse at his departure, was reduced to sixty thousand in the whole before his arrival in Italy.

But one victory is the parent of another; and the soldiers which Hannibal lost in the battles he fought were soon replaced by those whom the fame of his success brought round him.

Thus, after the battle of Trebia, so advantageous to his general, he was able to acquire glory at Thrasymenus, and secure victory at Cannæ. But the Romans, taught by misfortune, confined themselves to a war of chicane; cut off his provisions, intercepted his contributions, and lessened the zeal of the recruits: hence he began to perceive a frightful void, both in his military chest and his battalions. When he made known his victories at Carthage, he required a supply of men and money. The faction which then prevailed there refused him both the one and the other.

Hannibal, deprived of all resources but what his own talents and genius supplied, maintained himself sixteen years in a country where every thing was against him. Intrepid in danger, fruitful in expedients, and never despairing, he often disconcerted the best laid plans of his enemies. He saw Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia, torn from the republic. The head of his unfortunate brother, in whom was his last hope, was thrown at his feet, yet his firmness remained unshaken. Reiterated orders and the imminent danger of Carthage alone induced him to return to Africa. The fortune of Scipio prevailed over that of the veteran in the fields of Zama. Carthage subdued, received laws from a conqueror capable of taking every advantage. The Romans not only disarmed their rival, and by the

burning of its navy deprived it of its chief strength ; but they taxed it with the levy of considerable sums, which they exacted with the utmost rigour.

When the first payment was to be made, the difficulty of collecting the sum required caused a general sorrow in the senate. Many senators could not restrain their tears. But Hannibal, superior to being moved by sordid interest, smiled ; with which when he was reproached, he answered : “ The bitter smile
“ which escapes me is less ill-timed than the
“ tears I see you shed. When our arms were
“ taken from us, when our vessels were destroyed,
“ when we were forbidden to enter into any
“ foreign war, then was the time for tears, for
“ then was the mortal blow which subdued us.
“ But we feel the public evils no further than as
“ they interest us personally, and what affects
“ us most in them is the loss of our money.
“ When the spoils of conquered Carthage were
“ carried off, when she was left without arms
“ and without defence in the midst of so many
“ powerful nations of Africa, none of you heaved
“ a sigh. But because you must contribute
“ individually to the public tax, you are over-
“ come with affliction as if all was lost. Yet
“ much I fear, that what this day draws tears
“ from your eyes will shortly seem the smallest of
“ your misfortunes.”

Hannibal, on his return to his country, evinced himself as good a citizen as he had before been a general; and notwithstanding the opposition of the contrary faction was placed as *suffete* at the head of the republic, and in this station exhibited the necessary talents for government. The regulation of the finances, and administration of justice, both called for reform. Over the former Hannibal presided with a knowledge and integrity highly disagreeable to those who had before made vast profits by its disorder. By his severity in the support of justice, he raised himself other enemies. He refused no situation that could be serviceable to his country: and Hannibal, the famous general of numerous armies, submitted to be the leader of a few battalions to repulse the petty princes of Africa, who made incursions on the territory of the republic.

The Romans no sooner beheld him once more in arms, than their uneasiness was renewed; and fearing the ascendancy which his merit secured him in the republic, they applied themselves to strengthening the opposite faction. They accused him of having entered into a league with Antiochus, and other monarchs, to raise enemies against them. But whether they persecuted him because he attacked them, or he attacked them for their persecution of him, still remains problematical; and if Hannibal then took steps to deliver his country from the yoke which op-

pressed it, that which was a crime in the eyes of the Romans, can never be held as such by posterity. Their inveteracy against him is, in fact, his highest praise. They forced him to fly from city to city, and from country to country, to seek some new asylum, the tranquillity of which they incessantly disturbed by their threats against his protectors. At length, at the age of seventy years, he took poison, to escape falling into their hands.

This obstinate persecution of him by the Romans injures the reputation for magnanimity to which they aspired. If Hannibal was so great a politician as to raise empires against them, they should have attacked him with the same arms, and not with intrigues directed against his life and liberty; and the rather, as, excepting the inevitable horrors of war, he had never behaved with cruelty toward them. Their historians have painted his religion and morals in the blackest colours; but other writers bear the most honourable testimony to him on both those heads. They display his humanity, his reverence for the gods, his uncommon wisdom, exemplary chastity, his contempt of riches, and extraordinary temperance in the midst of abundance. He was a lover of literature, which he favoured as far as the tumult of a camp would allow; and even within that boundary he must have found ample gratification for his taste, from the variety of

knowledge brought thither by the multitude of nations of which his army was composed.

The third Punic war scarcely deserves the name of a war. It was rather the convulsions of a victim, who, having long struggled under the knife, exhausted, and bleeding its last, expires. It will not be useless employment to trace, in a few words, the last catastrophe of a city so celebrated. The Roman senate, jealous and uneasy at seeing the weakened body of the Carthaginian republic resume some vigour, determined on its total destruction. In this fatal project they employed every gradation of perfidy which the craftiest policy could supply. They first raised an immense army both by sea and land; and when the Carthaginians, terrified at these preparations, felt the necessity of entering into treaty with them, the Roman generals demanded, as hostages, three hundred young men of the best families of the republic. The unfortunate victims set off, whilst their mothers, distracted with grief, made the city resound with their groans; beating their breasts, and uttering cries capable of melting the hardest hearts. They were obliged to be torn from the arms of their children; and some even still pursued, swimming after the vessels which bore them away. On their arrival at Lilybæum, the Roman general congratulated the conductors of these hostages on the confidence they had shewn in the republic: to secure which, he en-

Third Punic
war, 1850.

gaged them to perform all which the consuls should require : a vague and dangerous condition, to which, however, they agreed.

The consuls, who were at the same time commanders of the army, made their demands successively, and at some distance of time from each other ; least their atrocity, had they all at once appeared, should have excited the indignation of their victims, and put a stop to their execution. They first required a sufficient supply of corn for the subsistence of their troops ;—granted without difficulty. 2dly, The delivery of all their gallies, with three rows of oars ;—these were yielded with affliction. 3dly, The delivery of all their warlike machines, and that all their arms, in general, should be brought to the Roman camp ;—submitted to with equal regret and uneasiness. Thus despoiled, the unfortunate people were incapable of defending themselves, or supporting a siege. “ Now then,” said the imperious consuls, “ abandon your city, which “ is going to be destroyed, and carry off from it “ whatever you can. You are allowed to “ build another, on condition that it is many “ leagues from the sea, and without walls or “ fortifications.” Hence the Roman justice, clemency, and magnanimity, appear in their proper colours.

When the mournful news reached the city by its deputies, the most dreadful consternation arose ; rage and anger succeeded to despair ; and

in their first emotions, the people massacred every senator and person in office whom they met, for having granted every thing to the Romans, and suffered themselves to be deprived of every means of defence. Yet courage arose from the very extremity of the misery ; and all swore to die rather than submit to such iniquitous conditions. From this resolution proceeded a war of two years' duration. But at length Carthage was pressed to the utmost. All which is possible to men, reduced as they were, the Carthaginians performed. They even constructed a new fleet, from their old materials and iron abandoned to the rust, sufficient to terrify the Romans. They disputed every street of their town, step by step, to their very citadel, to which the defenders themselves set flames, into which they then threw themselves to be consumed with it.

Thus perished the first Carthage, about seven hundred and fifty years after its foundation. The Romans, to expiate the injustice of their forefathers, build a new one many years afterwards, which did not rise to any splendour before the time of Augustus, when it was the second city of the empire. It was reduced to ashes by Maxentius ; but held once more a considerable rank amongst the cities of Africa under Genseric, king of the Vandals. Belisarius brought it again under the Roman dominion ; and, at length, near the close of the seventh century of the christian

æra, it was so totally destroyed by the Saracens, that not the smallest vestige of it remains.

NUMIDIANS.

Numidia, be-
twixt the
Mediterra-
nean, Getu-
lia, the river
of Mulucha,
and Tusca.

We have acquired some knowledge of the people bordering on the Carthaginians, by their connections with that nation.

Taking our station at Algiers, at nearly the opening of that country which comprized the ancient Numidia, we find lands embellished with a fertile soil, by the side of a sandy and barren plain; populous districts and desert countries interspersed; which made an ancient geographer compare this region to the skin of a leopard. The recesses of the mountains supply a delightful shelter from the heats of the plain; with verdant and variegated landscapes, plentiful orchards, and excellent fruits; while down their sides flow fresh fountains, the best perhaps in the world. Exhausted volcanoes, now retired within the earth, produce near these cooling streams hot waters, which in their mixture form the most salutary baths. Numidia was well cultivated, and produced corn in abundance; and the remains of towns which are spread over it prove it to have been very populous. The Romans carried thither the love of arts, of which some remaining monuments still present the vestiges. This country had its medals; and by their legends, which are neither Latin nor Greek,

we learn that they had a language of their own; perhaps composed of those of the different nations from which they are supposed to have descended.

Judging of their origin by their religion, we should believe them to be Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Greeks, for they preserved the gods and the worship of these various nations. The Numidians were formerly, and may still be, divided into two people, the inhabitants of cities, and of the country: the first commercial and industrious, lovers of luxury, and infected with the vices it produces; the second, good husbandmen, and simple in their morals. There always have existed, and still exist, ambulatory hordes, who lead their families and cattle into uninhabited spots, of which they make property. They are all, in towns and country, equally addicted to polygamy. The Numidian cavalry was ever in high esteem; and the Romans and Carthaginians, who equally prized it in their wars, rendered it extremely famous. Their horses were unused to either saddle or bridle, the rider managing them even in battle by a switch only. Though it was their custom to dart impetuously on the enemy, in loose array, yet they sometimes charged, and retired in an orderly manner.

Amongst the Numidians, no other government was known than that of kings. But the thickest darkness shades the history of these

princes, till the time when, by their connections with the Carthaginians, they acquired some celebrity. In all appearance, they rendered their people happy by peace, and opened their ports to trade. Iarbus, as we have shewn, received Dido and her Tyrians. They even allowed the Phœnicians to establish colonies amongst them: but the Numidians themselves were not great traders; and appear to have had no marine of their own. Latterly, their valour became a traffic; and they transported their squadrons wherever pay was to be obtained; to Spain, Italy, and Sicily, in the fleets of the Carthaginians, or Romans.

Massinissa,
2804.

These rival republics often made use of the Numidians, whom, being broken into different kingdoms, they had the art to oppose to each other; and it sometimes happened that Numidians—Romans at the commencement of the war—found themselves Carthaginians at its close, and contrariwise. The histories of Massinissa and Syphax present us with an example of this transition: the former, at first devoted to the Carthaginians, was afterwards gained for Rome by Scipio; the latter, attached first to Rome, and rendered a Carthaginian by his wife Sophonisba, was dragged in captivity to the capitol, where he ended his days. The military exploits of these warriors are confounded with those of the republics of which they became the auxiliaries;

but their lives, and that of Massinissa in particular, still merit delineation from the pencil of history.

Gala, king of a division of Numidia, dying whilst his son Micipsa was training to war under the standard of Carthage in Spain, was, according to the laws of Numidia, succeeded by his brother Desalces, who transmitted the crown to his son Capusa. He was deprived of that and life by Mezetulus, a relation who, by marrying the widow of Desalces, niece to the first Hannibal, thought to cover and secure his usurpation: he at the same time strengthened himself with the forces of Syphax, king of another part of Numidia. Micipsa, informed of his usurpation, quitted Spain, and hastened to claim the crown by right allotted him: he obtained troops from Bocchus, king of Mauritania; but which returning, left him at his frontier. By merit alone, by his courage and reputation, though yet in its beginning already far spread, Micipsa gathered round him the veteran troops of his father. With a small number of warriors he defeated Mezetulus, and opened his road to the throne, on which he had remained, but for the disturbances raised against him by the Carthaginians, to whom his abilities gave umbrage. They instilled a jealousy of him into Syracuse; and at this period probably completed the misfortunes of the unfortunate Massinissa, by robbing him of the beautiful Sophonisba, his betrothed wife, whom they

threw into the arms of old Syphax, and at the same time giving him their assistance to drive the Jews out of his kingdom. He fortified himself in a spot which he a long while maintained; but at length, after a brave defence, was compelled to fly. Out of four horsemen who accompanied him, two were drowned, passing a river, in his sight; the two others bore him, wounded and fainting, to a cave, where he was supported by them on the fruits of their plunder.

He was supposed to be drowned, when he appeared once more, and gathering together a new army, regained the Numidian throne; from which Syphax once more displaced him. But never despairing of his fortune, Massinissa wandered on the confines of his kingdom ready to make use of the first opportunity which should offer for his re-establishment there. He did not neglect that presented him by the arrival of Lælius in Africa, and became from that moment invariably attached to the Romans. They restored him to his kingdom; or rather, by their assistance, he conquered it once more. With his state he recovered his beloved Sophonisba: the laurels of his glory still flourished; but he faded, with his own hand, the myrtles of love, which he shaded for ever by the funeral cypress, by presenting the poisoned cup to her he loved.

Massinissa proved one of the most powerful

and fortunate princes of Africa. After a youth of misfortune, he preserved to the end of a very long life that robustness and health for which he was indebted to exercise and temperance. He was seen eating a piece of coarse bread at the door of his tent on the day after a victory. He performed, at ninety years of age, the usual exercises of young men, mounting his horse without assistance, and remaining whole days on it without a saddle. At his death, which happened between his ninetieth and ninety fifth year, his younger son was only five years old. He left fifty-four; three only of which were born in marriage. They each succeeded him in a portion of his kingdom: Micipsa had the government and exclusive possession of the capital; Gulu a the regulation of war, and Mastanabal of justice; with each the title of king. This distribution was made by Scipio Æmilianus, to whom Masinissa, at his death, recommended his kingdom. The Romans probably saw in the character of the three brothers the propriety of their disposition. The warrior and administrator of justice died, and the latter, leaving a son named Jugurtha, Micipsa had him educated in his palace with his young sons Adherbal and Hiempsal.

It is not to be doubted but that Micipsa, who ^{Jugurtha, 2882.} had the reputation of being a mild and wise prince, discovered the bad disposition of his nephew, since it is believed he endeavoured to

get rid of him. He gave him the most perilous commissions, and exposed him to dangers in war, from which, by his valour and ability, he extricated himself. His success gained him the general esteem: his features were regular, his person well formed, and his mind adorned with sense and information. An enemy to luxury and pleasure, he performed his exercises with those of his own age; throwing the javelin, and mounting on horseback with them, and excelling all, yet knew how to render himself beloved. His sole amusement was the hunting lions and wild beasts; and, to conclude his eulogium, "he excelled in every thing, and spoke little of himself." Such was Jugurtha; and, with these attractive qualities, a monster of cruelty, ingratitude, and deceit.

Whether Micipsa changed his opinion respecting his nephew, or hoped to conciliate him by benefits and confidence, he adopted him, and by his will declared him heir to his crown conjointly with his two sons Hiempsal and Adherbal, whom he recommended to him with his dying breath. Jugurtha promised every thing, but his uncle no sooner expired then he caused his cousin Hiempsal to be assassinated, and Adherbal had experienced the same fate had he not fled to Rome, where he implored the vengeance of the senate on the murderer of his brother, and its protection for himself. The assassin, when he

sacrificed his cousin, had seized on the treasures of the crown. These he made use of for his justification at Rome, and even retorted on Adherbal the accusation, charging him with being accomplice in a plot laid by the two brothers against him.

His success in this attempt emboldened him to take from his cousin the small remaining part of the kingdom, which he retained. He shut him up in his capital, to which he laid siege. Rome sent a first and a second deputation, which the gold of Jugurtha rendered useless. Adherbal at length surrendered on promise of his life. This Jugurtha swore to preserve, but immediately on his surrender had him murdered. He had been taught by the Romans that heaps of gold are the certain barrier against the clamours of the people, the decrees of the senate, and the enterprises of the soldiery; and, defended by this entrenchment, he braved all their attempts. Two bodies of troops came into Africa commanded by a prince of the senate and a consul, armed with the avenging thunders of the republic. They threatened, were appeased by gold, and retired without throwing a dart. Jugurtha had the boldness to appear at Rome, where he dared even to assassinate Massiva the son of Hiempsal, who demanded there vengeance for his father, and laid claim to his kingdom. His treasures enabled him to procure, if not

a declaration of his innocence, yet an exemption from punishment. He was only ordered instantly to quit Italy. He set out on his return; and when at some distance from Rome, casting back on it a look of indignation, exclaimed: "O venal city, for which only a purchaser is wanting!"

If it is with men in power as with private men, it is not to be wondered at that the Romans and Numidians, the corruptors and the corrupted, having mutually discovered the bottom of their hearts, should have mutually despised and hated each other. Jugurtha defeated a Roman army, and made it pass under the yoke. The Romans, in their turn, conquered him, and pursued him inveterately from one retreat to the other. He suffered, in these misfortunes, the remorse of a villain, still gnawn by the desire of doing ill, whilst reduced to the incapability of performing it. He saw the poniards of those who had been the agents of his crimes lifted up against himself: a treachery, which proved but a resource to him, who involved the innocent in the punishment of the guilty if they were rich, and made use of their wealth to corrupt the councils and court of his father-in-law Bocchus, king of Mauritania, who had afforded him an asylum. He was by these means on the eve of drawing Bocchus into a war with the Romans, which must have proved his ruin, had he

not discovered the snare, and escaped from it in time. To be exposed to it no more, he delivered up his son-in-law to Sylla; and Jugurtha, fastened to the car of the victor, exhibited his ignominy to that same Rome which had been so often an accomplice in his meanness.

Numidia took part in the quarrels of Marius and Sylla, and afterwards in those of Cæsar and Pompey, induced to it by the kings whom those factions had elected. Each had Numidian cavalry in his army: Juba, one of the last monarchs, sincerely attached to Pompey, was destroyed in assisting him; and fearing to fall into the hands of Cæsar after he had lost the battle, caused one of his slaves to run him through. Under Augustus and his successors, the Numidians became subject to the Romans as much as was possible for a people like them, impatient of the yoke of servitude, uncurbed like their coursfers, and like them revolting at the bit and bridle. Yet Numidia, even before it was confounded with Mauritania, was reckoned amongst the provinces of Rome.

MAURITANIA.

Fez, Morocco, Tangier, and Sallee, indicate the position of Mauritania, which was similar to Numidia in its productions, soil, climate, and inhabitants. It runs along the strait which divides Africa from Spain. Its extent of territory is un-

Mauritania between the river Mulucha, Gætulia, the Atlantic, and the Mediterranean.

known, since, like Numidia, its boundaries are lost in the deserts of Africa. It once possessed superb cities; and may still boast of some. The Mauritians differed from the Numidians in being mariners, who even ventured on the vast ocean; the islands not far distant from this coast offering an end to their navigation, and a resting place that might encourage their further attempts. It is proper to remark, that Mount Atlas has sometimes caused this part of Africa, though improperly, to be called by the name Atlantis, or the country of the Atlantides.

It is said to have been peopled by the Phœnicians, Arabs, Egyptians, Ethiopians, and Persians, who accompanied Hercules in his expedition into Lybia, and who followed him as far as the strait whose elevated promontories were called, after him, the columns of Hercules. To these various nations were added the Carthaginians, to whom it is most probably indebted for its name Mauritania, from the Phœnician word *maur*, which signified west; as if to denote that it was on the west of Carthage. But amongst all those nations who concurred to the population of this country, it is esteemed a certainty that the Arabs were its first inhabitants: their division into tribes, and the wandering lives they still lead, is an almost certain indication of their origin. Their government appears to have always been monarchic. The Mauritians and Numidians resembled each other in language

and religion, except that the former paid a particular worship to Neptune, by which it appears that they exposed themselves to the dangers of the sea, and endeavoured to render its god propitious. The invention of sails is attributed to one of their earliest kings.

Luxury, which generally exists with commerce, was not unknown to the Moors. The higher orders wore gold and silver dresses; and were not only attentive to the cleanliness, but elegance of their persons. The first arms of their infantry were clubs: to these succeeded swords and shields, in the management of the latter of which they were remarkably dextrous. Their cavalry used the lance, and both of them arrows, which were sometimes poisoned. They attended to agriculture, and more than absolute necessity required: they were consequently very sober. The clothing of the people consisted in skins; and they slept uncovered on the ground, or only covered with their clothes, as the wandering tribes still do. Their arts and trade extended not beyond absolute necessities; although, if ancient traditions may be credited, it is to Atlas, who gave his name to their highest range of mountains, we are indebted for the science of astronomy and knowledge of the planets, who was, on that account, represented as bearing the heavens on his shoulders.

The fabulous history of Mauritania contains

only the battle of Hercules and Antæus, the latter of whom was invincible whilst he touched the earth; but Hercules raising him from off it, strangled him in his arms: by which is to be understood, that in a war between Hercules and Antæus, the latter was long supported against the power of the former, by reinforcements from his native country; and that Hercules having deprived him of this resource, subdued him. Their real history, excepting a few names, contains little more than the fabulous. It begins with Bocchus, the father-in-law of Jugurtha, who it has been seen delivered him up to Sylla. But it is proper to remark, that he had also promised the Numidian to deliver the Roman to him. Thus the worthy father-in-law of Jugurtha hesitated only between two acts of treachery, fully determined to perpetrate one.

Atlas, the first king of Mauritania, is believed to have cultivated the sciences; to which the younger Juba, the last but one of the Mauritanian monarchs, applied himself with success. He was educated at Rome; and acquired there so much knowledge, as to be ranked amongst the most learned of the Greeks. He was well versed both in particular and general history, and composed that of Arabia. He wrote on the Roman and Egyptian antiquities; on the theatre, painting, and grammar. His observation extended to animals and plants: geography formed a part

of his study; and he endeavoured to discover the sources of the Nile. A few fragments only remain of those valuable works: but what ought to render his name immortal was, that such was the impression made by the mildness of his government on his subjects, that they reared altars to his memory.

GÆTULIANS, MELANO GÆTULIANS, NIGRITÆ, AND GARAMANTES.

That the names of these nations should have been preserved is a great deal, and perhaps too much, since nothing remains to be said of them. Their wandering hordes, sometimes united, and sometimes scattered, extended from Numidia and Mauritania, more or less toward the deserts. If they possessed any arts, they must have been few in number, and their religion void of majesty and uniformity. With respect to their government, they doubtless wanted not leaders for defense or attack; but we are ignorant whether they enjoyed any civil power. The mixture of manners and customs amongst them appears to have equalled the variety of their complexions, the shades of which became darker, as, receding from the coast, they approached the desert. The first Negroes were seen at Carthage, about the time of the second Punic war. In this country, infested with lions, tigers, armed robbers, and

Gætulia, between Mauritania, Numidia, and the deserts.

other beasts of prey, journies were, and still are, performed in caravans.

LYBIA MARMARICA. THE DISTRICTS OF
CYRENAICA AND SYRTICA.

Between
Egypt, Mau-
ritania, the
Mediterra-
nean, and
the deserts of
Barca.

Libya Marmarica lies nearest Egypt, within whose territory that Ammon is said to lie, ten days' journey in the sandy desert, where was the temple of Jupiter Ammon. It was a kind of island rising in the desert, of a beautiful soil, shaded with trees, and watered with fountains. Some have represented it as consisting only of the temple and its dependencies; others, as having a considerable town, villages, and a fortress: but how could such a spot of land, emerging in an ocean of sand, be discovered and inhabited?

The district of Cyrenaica lay between Egypt and Syrtica. Here was found the plant silphium, of which nothing but its representation in medals remains to our days. It distilled a gum, which made part of a rich balm. The Pfylli, a people of this territory, becoming impatient at the south wind, by which they were scorched, and their reservoir dried up, sallied forth armed into the desert, to make war on it, when the wind raising up whirlwinds of sand, swallowed them up. History mentions some more reasonable wars of this people, which resemble all others in the successions of rapine, plunder, and peace.

Syrtica, or the *Régio Syrtica*, bordered on the Mediterranean, and its most famous inhabitants were the *Lotophagi*; so called from their subsisting on the plant lotus, a kind of reed, by some supposed to be the sugar-cane.

The people of Syrtica, not less weak than the *Psylli*, incommoded by the burning beams of the sun, as that planet advanced to the zenith, uttered imprecations on it. Ancient historians mention a nation of dwarfs on the banks of the *Niger*. Amongst the strange customs of this people, whose manners could be but little known, the following are transmitted as certain. The *Marmarides* presented their daughters before marriage to their king, not for his wife, but if she proved worthy his attention, to ratify the passion she might inspire him with. Amongst the *Cyrenaic Nasamones*, the bride could refuse none of her guests, from each of whom she received a present. And, to conclude, the women amongst the *Lotophagi* by the number of folds in their gowns expressed that of the lovers they had favoured; and those who had most were most honourable.

ETHIOPIA.

The description and history of this country, even now but little known, can be but very imperfect. From *Lybia*, it is arrived at by the way of the deserts. It is covered with rocks of

Between
Egypt, the
Red Sea,
and the
septs.

an appearance no-where else to be met with, amidst horrible precipices, amongst rivers which at stated periods are converted into vast seas; and through nations, some of which are wholly savage, and others but half civilized. Amidst such confusion, no great regularity of events is to be expected, or any exact delineation either of their manners or country; but singularity supplying the place of order, may render the picture interesting.

The first Ethiopians, or Abyssinians, which were seen at Rome, must have made a very unamiable appearance with their tanned skins, short neck, very high shoulders appearing above their head; their eyes very far apart; a fierce look; flattened nose; large mouth; teeth pointed, and at a distance from each other; muscular and squat figures, wholly destitute of grace; for such are, with a few exceptions, the men inhabiting the vast regions of Ethiopia, whose women are calculated to please no other men.

The Troglodytes, concealed in their caves, are said to have fed on serpents, lizards, and other reptiles. There were pygmies in Nubia; and ostriches of the size of the stag were the animals of chase of the Abulitæ. Locusts, tortoises, elephants, fish, and the milk of the bitch, formed the sustenance of many nations, who thence received their appellations. The elephantophagi dwelt in the branches of trees, from whence they descended

to the chace of lions, leopards, and the elephant. Happy were those who in more fertile soils found fruits, roots, succulent and other plants, bestowed on them by the hand of nature. Ethiopia contained even Anthropophagi. Their usual beverage was a kind of beer.

That there were cities here, is attested by the magnificent ruins of some still remaining. In the midst of its immense plains rise, not mountains, but rocks higher and more irregular than the Alps and Pyrenees, some of which resemble towers, and others pyramids, whose sides are so smooth that they appear to be the result of art; yet their summits are covered with woods and meadows, where fountains and even lakes are found. One of these rocks appears like a castle built of hewn stone: the platform on its top is four leagues in circumference. Provisions, and even animals, are drawn up thither by cords. It is used as a state prison. Here the princes of the blood royal were formerly placed, to whom nothing more was allowed than what was necessary to prevent them perishing by hunger: how wretched must have been their existence! Nature has so highly polished one of these rocks, that it has at a distance the effect of a mirror. There are found also here mountains similar to those in other places, amongst which often appear frightful abysses.

The climate is very various: the air in general

very healthy. The cold on the mountains is extreme, and the heat equally excessive in the plains. Violent storms accompanied with hail, impetuous winds, and thunder rendered tremendous by the long echoes of the mountains, are frequent. The wind *fendo*, which destroys all in its passage, is common here, and appears to be a terrestrial typhon. Those who cultivate the soil are abundantly repaid, as they have at least two harvests, and the trees produce fruit twice a year. In these hot countries, watered with frequent and abundant rains, the ground continually covered with herbage, precludes the necessity of providing hay for the cattle. The days and nights are of equal length. The Nile, which enriches Egypt, traverses a part of Ethiopia, and receives in its course through it many large rivers, which are swelled by the abundant rains, refresh the torrid zone, and render a spot habitable which one would imagine parched up by the intolerable heat of a vertical sun.

It is well known that detachments of Arabs have from time to time increased the population of Ethiopia; but their mixture has not altered the indigenous race, of whose origin we are ignorant. The government appears to have been always monarchical, but sometimes under the sway of women, who had the common name of Candaces, as the kings of Egypt had of Pharaoh. In other respects, its kingdoms were

sometimes united into one, and sometimes divided into many. The monarchy was in some hereditary, and in others elective; or attached to the priesthood: in some restrained by laws, and in others despotic. Nothing certain can be said on the head of their religion; but the gods of Egypt and Greece appear to have made their way into Ethiopia. It is probable idolatry was not universal there, but that the court and higher orders professed theism, and observed the Jewish customs. The Ethiopians had a distinct language and letters, which are still preserved, in which were written their public acts and sacred books. They had a great variety of dialects.

In a country of such extent, during a long continuance of ages, the customs could not possibly be uniform: with the most singular we shall present the reader, without adverting to the time or spot to which they belonged. Those condemned to death were obliged to be their own executioners, and their flight was punished by the dishonour of their family. The mother in such a case killed her son. The sister's son succeeded to the throne. If the king was lame, all his attendants were obliged to lame themselves; and the monarch was obliged to put himself to death, when the priests informed him the gods had so ordered it for the good of his subjects. On his death, his servants all killed themselves, either to shew their attachment to

their prince, or to be ready to serve him in the other world. When the royal stock failed, some nations chose their sovereigns from among the shepherds.

The Ichthyophagi made a paste of putrid fish, which appears to have become agreeable to their palate. They lived to a great age, and exposed their dead on the sea shore to be carried away by the tide, and thus became the food of fish on which they fed. The inhabitants of a certain district being extremely tormented with gnats, found no better remedy against them than passing whole days immersed up to their necks in water. Authors appear to be talking of a republic of monkeys, when they tell us that the men of one country perch on trees, hopping from branch to branch, possessing their females in common, and fighting each other with clubs: of some who drank only every five days, and others not at all. These latter would have made excellent sailors. Some had a respect approaching to adoration for old women. When any one became by age, infirmity, or otherwise, useless to society, the rest came and entreated him to die; to which if he did not resign with a good grace, they fastened him whether he would or not, as it was his business to have done himself, to the tail of a bull, who thus dragged him till he expired. Funerals were a day of festivity with them, and circumcision was in general use amongst them.

They made use of their hair as a quiver, hanging in it their darts, some of which were poisoned. Their bows were four cubits long, and required uncommon strength to bend them, of which they only were capable. Like the Parthians, they shot flying. Brass was their precious metal, and gold they made use of as iron. They covered the bodies of their relations with plaster, on which their likeness was drawn, and then enclosed them in coffins of great value, some even it is said in boxes of crystal, through which the features of the deceased might be seen; and they preserved a corpse at least a year in their houses.

After so many contradictions, we must endeavour, as nearly as we can, to fix our judgment relative to a people whom the Grecian writers have delighted in degrading. It is not to be doubted but that there were amongst them men commendable for their knowledge and wisdom. They had colleges of priests, consequently assemblies of men who, though allotted to perform the ceremonies of religion, found time enough to apply to the attainment and perfection of science. It is from similar seminaries, that the first rays of light appeared and dispelled the darkness in which the infancy of every nation is involved. The Ethiopians were naturally hardy and intrepid, but violent, generous, frank, and humane; they readily forgave injuries, and were the zealous

partisans of justice. We must not judge of the nation by that kind of monster described as having been beheld with astonishment by the Romans. They are, on the contrary, tall and well made, and their women agreeable. The children are born red: like to the negroes, they bear a black spot on the navel, which as it spreads covers them with a blackness equal to the brightest ebony.

From the long course of two thousand years a few lines of history only result. Amongst historical facts, those who chuse may reckon the pretended conquest of Ethiopia by Moses at the head of his Egyptians, and with this the journey made by the queen of Sheba to visit Solomon in all his glory. She is believed to have been an Ethiopian, and constant tradition makes her the mother of an extended dynasty, descendants of Solomon, who long reigned there, and perhaps do so still. The principal families esteem it honourable to be descended from the Jews. These two nations were long at war with each other, and formidable armies are believed to have gone out of Ethiopia against Judea. The Ethiopians were among the first people who embraced christianity, which they still profess, though greatly mixed with judaism. Their ancient history is so barren that the names only of a few of their kings are known; but it will appear in the sequel that we are better informed with respect to what has passed

amongst them in more modern times and down to our own days.

No very interesting accounts are to be expected of many other nations, of whose rise we have only uncertain and curtailed information. It is however necessary to make known their existence and original manners, that when hereafter risen into consequence they shall appear with splendour in the great theatre of the world, we may not be entire strangers to their features; we shall therefore take a slight survey of the whole earth, and indicate the spot which gave rise to each people whose history we shall afterwards resume, as by their increase they acquire a distinguished rank in human society.

ARABS.

Arabia is considered as a peninsula, which geographers have long since divided into three parts, whose denominations are not to be taken literally. In Arabia Petræa are some spots of a good soil. Arabia Deserta is not uninhabited; and Arabia Felix, though it deserves the epithet *Happy*, partakes in some degree the imperfection of the lands on which it borders. Petræa contains many deserts, one of which is that of Sinai, but the soil of it is for the most part good, though amongst it are scattered some desert spots; whereas in Arabia the Desert extend plains

Arabia, between the Red Sea, Palestine, the Persian gulph, the Mediterranean, and the Euphrates.

without well or fountain, forming a kind of ocean of sand, agitated by the winds like the waves of that element, and in which more fertile spots are scattered like the islands in the sea. The third portion, the Happy, enjoys a pure air, produces excellent fruits, and the best coffee in the world. Arabia has always been the centre of an extensive commerce, both of its own productions and those of other countries; and its caravans convey gold, incense, myrrh, gums, perfumes, spices, and all kinds of the most valuable merchandize.

The Arabians divide themselves into the ancient and the modern; the former of which deduce their origin from No the son of Shem, and grandson of Noah; the latter go no higher than Ishmael the son of Abraham; and the most eminent tribes in reality carry not their pretensions beyond this point. Those who have known persons possessed with the rage for genealogy, dreaming only of escutcheons and speaking but of their alliances, are not surprized to learn the attention paid by the Arabs to every thing which can establish the purity and antiquity of their descent. Their traditions contain miracles and improbabilities, the memory of which is preserved; but though the Arabians gather food for their vanity from them, they are not worth transmitting to other nations.

The customs, manners, and genius of this

people have remained unchanged for three or four thousand years, excepting in the article of religion only. Those who were then wandering tribes remain so still; obedient, as from time immemorial, to their emirs, who are the head of some families or tribe or an assemblage of tribes. They are known by the appellation *bedoweens*, or wanderers. The government of those who lived in cities was as nearly the same as the difference of circumstances allowed. The equality in families was evinced in the succession to the throne. The first child born after the inauguration of the monarch became heir to the throne; and to avoid deception, all the wives of the new king declared to be pregnant were guarded and attentively waited on till one of them was delivered. The king was invested with the authority in a general assembly, and when he had taken the reins of government, was never more permitted to go out of his palace. If he infringed this law, he was not only allowed but commanded to be stoned: but in all other respects claimed from his people an obedience without reserve.

The religion of the Sabians, which was that most common amongst the Arabs, consisted in the worship of the stars, planets, and angels, whom they honoured as inferior divinities; but they acknowledged only one god, creator and preserver of the universe. Some tribes added other superstitions to this theism, degraded from its

beginning, and made idols, or borrowed those of their neighbours, and paid divine honours even to animals. The religion of the magi was in esteem amongst them, and they were not without some idea of the immortality of the soul, and the rewards and punishments of a future life. Some tribes embraced the jewish and christian religions from their first commencements. Their language, perhaps the most copious in the world, was harmonious and expressive; and neither that nor its character has altered. They were good orators, and excellent poets, and sufficiently skilled in astronomy to divide their year with regularity. They believed in and interpreted dreams, and were not deficient in the knowledge of mechanics and medicine. Horsemanship, and the exercise of arms, was much practised by them as the means of preserving their independence. They had frequent quarrels amongst themselves, which usually concluded by battles. The following was then a common proverb amongst them: "God has given four things peculiarly to the
" Arabians;—turbans instead of diadems, tents
" instead of houses, swords instead of entrench-
" ments, and poems instead of written laws."

The Arabs unite hospitality with robbery, and receive with cordiality those whom chance or want conducts to their tents. They light fires in the night on high places to direct the travellers, which are called the fires of hospi-

tality. But whilst they consider this as a duty, with respect to each other, they plunder without scruple all who pass through their country. They say, that their father Ishmael, when driven from his paternal mansion, received from God the deserts as his patrimony, with leave to take in it all he should find; that as his heirs they inherit two rights; and think themselves authorized to indemnify themselves not only from the posterity of Isaac, but all other men, with whom they suppose themselves to stand in the same relationship as with the Jews. When returning with booty, they do not say, I have *taken*, but I have *gained*, such a thing. In other respects, they are neither deficient in probity toward each other, or civility to those whom they receive as friends. Though nothing is shut up in their camp, not the smallest theft is ever committed in it; and even those whom they despoil, when wounded, receive every attention humanity can dictate, with assistance necessary for pursuing their journey.

Pilgrimages have been always frequent among the Arabs. They had augurs and rules for divination. Ablutions were greatly in use amongst them, though without making a part of their religion. Whoever was taken in theft, instantly lost his right hand. They inflicted public chastisement on prodigals; and, on the contrary, shewed great respect to those who disposed of

their wealth to advantage. The power of their chiefs was very bounded. The Saracens, a tribe of the Arabs, hired their wives for a time; a custom, which, authors observe, differs not much from ours of divorce.

Ishmael, with Hagar his mother, being obliged to leave the dwelling of Abraham, wandered into the desert. The mother had, before the birth of her son, received the promise that he should be the father of a powerful nation; and that he and his descendants should live in enmity with mankind; yet not be subdued by any foreign power. By the mode of living, the power and government of the Arabs of the desert, from the time of Ishmael to the present day, the truth of this wonderful prediction seems to be demonstrated. They have lived and continue to live by plunder; they have never been reduced to total subjection; and they still live in a state of independence, that verifies the second part of the prophecy, as the power of the Saracen descendants of Ishmael does the first.

Many kingdoms have been formed, and long subsisted in Arabia; the principal of which are those of Yemen, Hira, Ghassan, and Hejaz. We cannot flatter ourselves with having, with any exactness, even the names of their kings, much less their actions. The first example of monopoly is given us by one of their monarchs, named Saba. He gathered all the streams of the

mountains, which usually watered his territory, into a vast reservoir, sold the water to his subjects, and refusing it to those with whom he was offended, themselves and their cattle were compelled to perish by thirst and famine. The names of some other princes are transmitted, with additions, marking their actions or endowments: as D'hul Adhaar, the king of monsters, from his having exhibited satyrs, or monkeys, to his people; Naferol Neham, the magnificent and generous; Amru Tobbal, lord of wood, because from his infirmity it was necessary to carry this monarch in a wooden chair; Sabban, who possessed the famous scymitar, samfana, which cut uninjured through the blade of a sword; Yusuf, lord of wells or pits, because he threw those into them who displeased him; and Dhujadan, the possessor of a fine voice.

In the year of Mahomet's birth, under Al Ashram, happened a miracle, transmitted by the former in his koran. This prince having undertaken the destruction of Mecca, appeared before it with a formidable army. But from the sea-coast arrived a numerous flight of birds, of the size of swallows, carrying each three stones, one in each claw, and one in their beak, not larger than lentils, yet so ponderous as to destroy not only men but horses, camels, and elephants. The army was of course soon destroyed; and to add to the miracle, commentators say that each

stone bore the name of the person whom it was destined to kill. Under Amru, the example of that complaisance or fidelity of those courtiers who mutilated, disfigured, or wounded themselves, to ensure the success of their monarch, was renewed. Kofair caused his ears to be cut off, and himself scourged, to gain introduction to the queen of Seba, with whom Amru was at war. She received him in her palace, when abusing her confidence, he caused chests filled with armed men to be brought into it, by whom she was assassinated.

Al-Nooman, after a reign of thirty years, abdicated the sovereign power, and retired into the desert. As he could not reign for ever, he cared not whether he quitted the throne sooner or later. "What," says he, "is a kingdom which must come to an end?" What happened under the reign of Al-Nooman, reminds us of the generous strife of Pylades and Orestes, emulous of dying for each other. This Arabian prince, in a fit of drunkenness, caused two of his friends to be burnt alive, who in the same state had fallen asleep at his table. When he recovered his senses, he imposed on himself a law by which he was obliged to celebrate every year two days, one fortunate, the other unfortunate. On the first, he determined to load with benefits the first person he should chance to see; on the latter, to shed on the

tomb of his friends the blood of him he first met. Unfortunate in his expiation as his crime, Al-Nooman met, on the second day, an Arab who had received him when wandering from the chase, and exhausted with fatigue. The king, embarrassed between his vow and the rights of hospitality, held inviolable by the Arabs, agreed to suffer his host to return home laden with presents, on condition that he should come back to fulfil the sacrifice, or that some one should agree to die for him in case he did not. The last day of the time allowed was arrived, and his hostage appeared ready to suffer for his friend; but the Arabian came to fulfil his word; and being asked the motive of this generosity, answered, that he derived it from the christian religion, which he professed. Al-Nooman caused himself to be instructed in it, and baptized. But before his time some Arabian monarchs had been converted to christianity.

Whatever have been the endeavours made by other nations, and amongst these the Romans, they have never been able to subdue the Arabians. The great Sesostris, king of Egypt, undertook their conquest in vain; and the monarchs of the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians, succeeded no better. The latter contented themselves with their friendship, which the Arabs maintained by presents to them, but never by tribute. Cambyfes asked their permission to pass through their

country to the conquest of Egypt. Alexander died before he could effect the design he had formed of attacking them, not with a view to subject, but to conquer them sufficiently to become admired and adored by them. Antigonus, coming on them by surprize, seized on the city of Petra, but was pursued by them, beaten, and robbed of the spoil he had carried off. Demetrius his son appeared before this city, when an Arab thus addressed him from its ramparts: "What is it, O prince, which you require? "What motive can induce you to carry your arms into a desert, where there is neither corn, wine, or water, or any of the necessaries of life? The love of liberty makes us live in these barren plains, to preserve which, we are determined on suffering inconveniences, which seem to other nations insupportable. You cannot alter our resolution; you cannot remain here without resistance. We, therefore, who have never offended you, entreat you to retire from our country; accept of presents from our hands, and engage your father Antigonus to rank us amongst his friends." The harangue was successful for the moment: but Antigonus, imagining he had terrified them, sent an army into their territories, which they drove before them, and obliged to retreat with disgrace.

In the time of Pompey, the Romans called

themselves conquerors of the Arabians, from having raised a tax on two or three of their tribes. Under Augustus, a Roman general made an incursion into their country, and overrunning a part of it, was driven out as much by the drought, whirlwinds of sand, and similar inconveniences, as by arms. From these expeditions, the Romans arrogated to themselves the conquest of Arabia, to which the medals they struck on the occasion bore testimony; but a forced retreat of Trajan, and another of Severus, plainly attested the contrary. Still further, it appears that the Roman empire, in its decline, even purchased succours and alliance of the Arabians. Alamundarus, or Al Mondar, a prince of this nation, ravaged the Roman frontiers during fifty years. He passed with the rapidity of lightning from Egypt into Mesopotamia, and had placed his spoil in security before the Romans began to move against him. The Abyssinians appear to have had the greatest dominion over them; but this was not long in duration, nor of great extent. They were driven out in the year of the birth of Mahomet, who made Arabia the centre of his religion and his victories. From that epocha, as will be seen, the history of the Arabs becomes of importance in that of mankind.

TARTARS, TURKS, MOGULS, &c.

After the Arabians, who are a nation in a manner isolated, those people naturally present themselves, who have covered the territories occupied by the first inhabitants of Asiatic Tartary; the Turks, Moguls, Indians, and Chinese, unknown to our ancestors.

Tartary has been styled the manufactory of mankind. *Officina Hominum*. From this spot, said to be the highest on the globe, in the remotest north between Asia and Europe, have descended the men who peopled the country of the Moguls and China on the one hand, and Russia and Sarmatia on the other. Those who would avoid entering into geographical, chronological, and genealogical discussions, content themselves with knowing that a great part of the nations of Europe and Asia owe their origin to the Tartars, who were originally Scythians, the descendants of Japhet son of Noah. As we detach the branches of this far-spreading tree, we shall as much as possible mark the relation the several branches bear to the same trunk.

The Scythians have been already mentioned; and it would be useless here to repeat the division of them into the Scythian Nomades, or wanderers, and the sedentary Scythians; a distinction still existing amongst the Tartars. Some of

their customs, of which the variety is inexhaustible, have been also mentioned. The kings were obliged to preserve with respect a plow, a yoke, a hatchet, and a golden cup, which fell, said they, from heaven into the plains of Scythia. They presided yearly at sacrifices offered in honour of these instruments, so useful to mankind. One of their tribes was esteemed sacred. They judged the causes of the rest, bore no arms, and enjoyed the privileges of sanctuary. Zamolxis, long anterior to Pythagoras, promised eternal felicity in a life to come to those who should observe his laws. The influence of them on the Scythians rendered them temperate and just, upright in their morals, and religiously attached to the duties of friendship. The Nomades transported their families in carriages with two, four, or six wheels. They preferred riding through their deserts rather on mares than horses, since they could allay their thirst with their milk. Their language, which was limited to the expression of common necessities, was far from copious; and their writing appears to have been originally hieroglyphic.

A tradition, transmitted by Tartarian writers, makes Turfa, or Turk, the son of Japhet, father of the Turks, and represents the Ottoman family as also descending from this patriarch. This first Turk was a legislator and inventor of many arts. Amongst his descendants are reckoned the chiefs

of different tribes, and principally the Mogul Tartars. These were all exterminated in an unsuccessful war; and of the whole nation only two princes and their families remained. In their flight from the conqueror, they came to the foot of an extremely high mountain, the top of which was accessible only by one very narrow path. Into this they entered, and gained the ascent. It led them to a delicious plain, divided by rivulets, covered with meadows and fruit-trees, and surrounded on all sides by inaccessible mountains. These two families passed four hundred years in this retreat, and renewed there the race of the Moguls.

When arrived to a certain degree of population, these Moguls, finding their dwelling too small, were seized with a desire of revisiting their native country; but the same difficulty occurred as to coming down; and it seemed impossible to leave a spot so shut in, and the narrow path to which was stopped up and overgrown. By continual searching they discovered the mountain, which was wholly of iron, to be but thin in one part; and bringing a great quantity of wood and fuel to this place, with the assistance of seventy leathern bellows, they soon melted away an opening in the mountain, sufficient for the passage of a loaded camel. The arrival of this unknown troop caused great amazement in the surrounding countries, the inhabi-

tants of which united to stop their progress; but were conquered by the Moguls, who reseated themselves in the land of their fathers. They preserve a custom allusive to this event. Every year an iron is heated red hot, on which the khan gives the first blow, in memory of their return from the beautiful valley; an example, which is followed by the heads of every tribe throughout the whole Mogul dominions. Those who discuss these memorials with critical severity, find an appearance of truth attached to them, which does not allow an historian to neglect even these fabulous tales, of which still more will appear respecting India.

INDIA.

This is the finest, the most fruitful, and the richest country in the world: every thing agreeable which other countries can boast is to be found within its boundaries. Nothing necessary to life is wanting. It abounds in rice, and a wonderful variety of delicious fruits. Its seas produce pearls; its mines, diamonds; and its mountains, metals. Animals, as various as its fruits, cover its fields and inhabit its forests. Some, apparently born for independence, have been domesticated; and amongst these its elephants, wonderful for their courage and sagacity, and larger and stronger than those of Africa. Its mountains, covered with woods, and refreshed

India, between Persia, the Indian Sea, Chinese Tartary, and Great Tartary.

with waters, are separated by fruitful plains; through which rivers abounding in fish, and almost all navigable, flow. Two great streams, the Ganges and the Indus, wash its borders and fix its boundaries.

So fine a country naturally attracted inhabitants, who flowed in upon it from Persia and Tartary, and established by degrees those nations of which ancient historians have preserved the names, and marked the positions. As streams are formed by the junction of many rills, and by the union of streams the largest rivers, the colonies of India mixed and became kingdoms and empires. Even the devastations of conquerors sometimes unintentionally united different tribes, as the rivulet borne away by the torrent increases its ravages. We are ignorant whether a circumstance, singular in its nature, said to exist in India, be owing to one of these scourges of mankind. It is that of a vast extent of country, containing many towns, and a thousand villages, deserted by their inhabitants, who left their mansions standing. Modern historians do not mention this desert, and the ancient have not indicated its position.

Amongst other fables, it is gravely related, that on Alexander's passing through a forest in this country inhabited by a multitude of monkeys, instead of flying from his army, they arrayed themselves in order of battle, and presented the appearance of regular troops to his soldiers, who

thought they were going to encounter disciplined forces. An Indian, by whom they were undeceived at the same time, informed them how they might catch these antagonists. The secret consisted in pouring water into vessels and washing their eyes with it in their sight, into which they afterwards infused a viscous liquor and left it. The imitative nation soon descending from the trees, washed their eyes also, and their eyelids being soon glued down, were unable to escape.

The Indians possessed the mania of all other nations for antiquity, and in a still higher degree. They had excellent laws and regulations, and some praise-worthy customs, of which a general sketch follows. At the beginning of every year the philosophers, who formed a distinct sect, were obliged to attend the king in his palace, and offer him their observations, predictions, and conjectures, on all things useful to their country ; but if any one in these remarks was convicted of ignorance, perpetual silence was his punishment. The soldiers had fixed abodes, and a regulated pay in times of peace. Husbandmen were dispensed from military services. One quarter of the product of the land was assigned for the king and the state. The magistrates charged with the distribution of justice, no doubt as a check to ambition, the usual source of corruption, could not marry into a family superior to their own. The laws of

retaliation were in use amongst them. If the wife of a drunken monarch killed him, she married his successor. The king was not allowed to sleep during the day. In many places the women did not survive their husbands, but burnt themselves with his corpse. The best boxers amongst the girls were the first married; and in all wars the labour of the husbandmen was respected.

The Indian philosophers, the gymnosophists, and bramins, have been much spoken of. The latter appear to have been of one family, who called themselves descendants of Abraham. Their system of theology has never been explained, which, though it might vary in the end, was always founded on the unity of god. They were at once priests and counsellors to the king; charged with the performance of the religious ceremonies, the instruction of the public, and the interpretation of the laws. That they were celebrated for wisdom, we learn by the most illustrious of the Greeks having gained from them the knowledge with which they enriched their country. They applied with success to mathematics, physic, and astronomy, which, like most other nations, they disgraced by a mixture of judicial astrology. The gods of the Greeks and Egyptians were introduced amongst them. Many of their philosophers adopted the metempsychosis, which they derived from the Greek. Some of

them believed the world to be governed by a supreme intelligence, extended through all space. They imagined the planets to be guided by inferior intelligences; and to conclude, they believed in the immortality of the soul, and a state of future rewards and punishments. No traces remain of the ancient language, or letters, of India. The characters at present in use amongst the bramins have an affinity to the Hebrew and Syrian. The reputation of these philosophers is greatly decayed; but they yet maintain some influence over the people. The Indians were very expert and well fitted for mechanical arts; they were also very sober, and rarely addicted to intoxicating liquors.

Notwithstanding this characteristic, Bacchus is said to be the first conqueror who appeared amongst them; and who, it is added, taught them to make wine. But it is proper to remark, that the vice is scarcely known in India; and is almost the only useful production in which it is deficient. Others are of opinion, that the Indian Bacchus is not the Bacchus who was the god of wine. But whoever he was, to him they are indebted for civilization. He taught them the military art, and became adored by them. Cyaxares and Cyrus approached the borders of India. Darius Hystaspis entered it. Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and Darius Codemannus, made some progress in it.

Alexander advanced into it; and had the pleasure of conquering Porus, and of receiving from the deputies of several distant kingdoms those honours which are seldom refused to triumphant power. His successors could not maintain themselves there: and their connexion with India was so slight, that they drew from it no succours, either against each other, or in their wars against the Romans.

Augustus, in the splendor of his power, saw Indian ambassadors in his court; Claudius, Trajan, and Justinian, received the same satisfaction. Those ambassadors prove the existence of governments in India. To this rich country we are indebted for our silk: the trade in which was long monopolized by the Persians; so that for many ages it was sold for its weight in gold, Justinian sent two monks to a part of India called Serica, where the worm from which it was produced was found. These not being able to bring away the valuable insect alive, conveyed and preserved some eggs, which were afterwards hatched; and from those eggs have proceeded all the silk of Europe.

CHINA.

The darkness which covers the first Indians, spreads with deeper shades over the early Chinese.

There are two great subjects of controversy amongst the learned with regard to the Chinese, their chronology, and their word *Tyen*. The Chinese value themselves on their extreme antiquity, in proof of which they produce the calculation of an eclipse which happened 2155 years before our æra. The jesuits have adopted this chronology, and pretended that this eclipse was to be found in the ancient Chinese books. To this the missionaries, their adversaries, reply, that the calculation was introduced into the annals by the jesuits, excessive admirers of the Chinese; since the latter were in the most profound ignorance with regard to astronomy when the jesuits arrived there, and consequently utterly incapable of calculating an eclipse 3800 years ago, unless they had strangely forgotten this science, which seems very unlikely in a nation jealous to excess of all which can ennoble it. This controversy, directed and supported by party spirit, admits of no end.

The same may be said with respect to the other disputes on the word *Tyen*, which may be understood of the spirit presiding in the heavens, or of the heavens themselves. The jesuits, under the persuasion that the Chinese adopted the former acceptation of the word, allowed of their adoration of the *Tyen*. The missionaries believing the second to be the most general, forbade the adoration of the *Tyen*, as an idolatry

which the jesuits only allowed of to gain a greater number of profelytes. As there are few evils without some good, from these controversies have resulted some elucidations relative to this nation, and its laws, whose origin is not carried to so very remote a period.

The Chinese government has been always monarchical. Authors agree unanimously in this respect; and have transmitted to us a list of kings, whose uninterrupted course renders this opinion more probable. As they allowed no strangers amongst them, they must have long preserved their original laws, unmixed with all others. Their religion was a pure theism, contained in certain ancient books, which they denominated, by way of excellence, the five volumes (their Pentateuch); of these a few fragments only remain, which contain an abridgement of their science and morality. Theism is not so clearly expressed in them, but that it may be concluded from them that the worship of heavenly spirits, established by the supreme Being to preside over cities, rivers, mountains, kingdoms, and provinces, and over each person particularly, was allowed. This indulgence for secondary deities afforded food to the disputes relative to the *Tyen*.

The Chinese books adorn this *Tyen* with all the attributes of divinity. He rules all events, reads the bottom of the human heart, rewards

virtue, punishes vice, even in monarchs, inflicts national chastisements, which he foretels by prodigies. That the guilty may be induced to avert their course by repentance, all good thoughts are inspired by *Tyen*, who exerts the absolute power he possesses over the minds of men to conduct them to virtue; making use of the ministry of their fellow-creatures for their reward or punishment, without affecting their free will. No man is so vicious, but that through attention to the succours offered him by the *Tyen* he may become virtuous.

According to the same books, no homage is acceptable to him but what proceeds from the heart. The emperor alone had a right to celebrate the ancient worship, and publicly pay solemn homage to the divinity. The sacrifice to the supreme Being was a ceremony so sublime, that the first person in the empire was alone accounted worthy to perform it. The prince was obliged to prepare himself for his pontifical function by the expiation of his sins, a rigid fast, and the tears of repentance. Their canonical books, which represent the souls of virtuous men in an abode of bliss, make no mention of the punishment reserved for the guilty in another life. They believe the existence of the soul after death, and have sound views of the creation. This noble religion has been corrupted by the idolatry which has at various times spread

over China. Yet the primitive religion still rose above it, and prevails there yet amongst the disciples of Confucius.

A very ancient law still exists in this country, though its motive and end is unknown; this forbids a man to marry a woman of his own name, though it be fully proved she is no relation to him. The emperor, on his accession to the throne, ploughs a few furrows in honour of agriculture, and merely renews the ceremony, accompanied with sacrifices. During the time allotted for their duration, trade and navigation is suspended; and there is a vacation of the courts of justice. Polygamy has from all antiquity been allowed in China. The language of the Chinese has an affinity to the Hebrew; their letters are expressive of things, and not words; and are a mixture of enigma, emblem, and allegory. So great is the number of their characters, that it often requires the life of a man to learn their significations, which is a great impediment to the progress of knowledge amongst them.

The Chinese make pretensions to the knowledge from time immemorial of every science; agriculture, physic, music, astronomy, philosophy, ethics, and magic. If we believe them, their ancestors excelled all nations in the knowledge of the mechanic arts, navigation, and commerce (internal they must mean): as admission amongst them having been constantly denied

to strangers, they have extended their boundaries, neither by sea or land. Their general disposition is gentle, humane, and modest. They are extremely ceremonious; exact, and even scrupulous observers of their laws, the practice of which is enforced with great strictness.

The ancient historians of China make mention of a deluge, three thousand years before our æra. It does not appear whether Tyen Hounj, whom they reckon their first legislator, lived before or after this deluge. Under his reign, they say, the heavenly spirit spread over mankind, and after destroying the great dragon who had introduced disorder into heaven and earth, inspired men with the sentiments of humanity. This tradition is remarkable, from its apparent allusion to the fall of the wicked angels. One of his successors gave rise to astronomy, and divided the month into thirty days. Another introduced the division of lands, from whence arose geometry. A third built the first huts, produced fire from pebbles, and taught them to dress their meats. A fourth invented knotted cords to supply the place of written memorials, and established fairs for the intercourse of commerce. It is surprizing that the establishment of these fairs are prior in antiquity to the Chinese history.

This begins to grow more perspicuous under the reign of Fo-hi, though the date of his existence remains uncertain. Surrounded by a rainbow,

his mother became pregnant ; and he was made king through respect to this extraordinary mode of birth. He was a great mathematician, built cities, and enclosed them with walls, gave names to the different families of the empire, and in room of the knotted cords before mentioned substituted the characters which were the origin of those now in use amongst them. He instituted the order of mandarines, allotting to each a different department ; history, the calendar, public buildings, aids for the people, cultivation of lands, and course of the waters. He adopted the dragon as the arms of the empire. Fo-hi instituted marriage, and the laws relative to it ; and regulated religious worship. Shin Nong, his successor, encouraged agriculture ; studied the properties of plants, which he applied to medicine ; established markets, and is esteemed a very religious prince. Whang-ti spoke as soon as he was born, and shewed symptoms of genius from his infancy. His amiableness was remarkable in youth, and in maturer years his judgment. If he was the author of all the inventions which are attributed to him, he was the greatest discoverer that ever existed ; for, say they, he taught the art of extracting salt from sea water, of making geographic charts, of making roads by levelling and piercing through mountains. He perfected the science of calculation ; regulated weights and measures ; struck the first money ; con-

fructed oared vessels and chariots till his time unknown. Whang-ti armed his warriors with bows and arrows; and by the sound of drums and trumpets, first inspired them with martial ardour. He framed the flute, and composed the organ. He first observed the alterations of the pulse, and applied that knowledge to the sick. From the colours of flowers and birds, he first invented the art of dying. This honour he shared with the empress his wife; who, whilst he and his chief courtiers were attentive to the culture of the field, went with her ladies to the grove of mulberries, whence she gathered the silk, and by her own industry encouraged them in works of embroidery, which she consecrated to religious uses.

The successors of Whang-ti had only to perfect his discoveries. It is worthy of remark, that the art of war, on which is founded the reputation of other monarchs, makes no part of the praises of those of China; and history reckons them more or less estimable, in proportion as they were useful to their people. Nothing has escaped the attention of these princes. All under their government were subject to wise laws. The digging of mines, public instruction, the administration of justice, the duties of husbands and wives, parents and children, elder and younger brothers and sisters; and even those existing between friends: the duties subsisting

between kings and their subjects were delineated by a monarch taken from the class of husbandmen, to whom, in exclusion of the princes of his blood, the emperor bequeathed his crown. It is not to be imagined but some bad princes appeared amongst them; but their historians, as if ashamed of their crimes, mention them but very slightly, as if they feared to bring disgrace on their country by recording them. This epocha, the duration of which is as uncertain as the circumstances related concerning it, concludes about eighteen hundred years after the deluge.

The Chinese, so confined within themselves by prohibitory laws, are yet believed to have peopled North America; as a communication has been discovered between the countries by a succession of islands, and it appears possible, that Asia and America were once united by an isthmus on that side, which some convulsion of nature destroyed. Such an isthmus would have rendered the communication easy; and the chain of islands acknowledged still to exist, shews it to be possible.

In proof of this fact, many Chinese and Japanese words are adduced, subsisting in the languages of America; whilst that part of America bordering on Asia was the most populous. Many manners and customs of the Tartars were discovered there; and amongst the South Americans a tradition existed of their ancestors coming from

the north. It does not hence follow, that they came from no other part; for it is strongly conjectured, that the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Carthaginians, in their commercial expeditions, must have touched at America. Even Gauls and Normans are supposed to have been driven thither by tempests, and hence the mixture that has been remarked in the customs of the Americans. But these chances, at most barely possible, for the population of this continent, ought not to be placed in comparison with the probability of Chinese emigration, by the easy and natural means of the chain of islands now existing, or the isthmus which formerly existed at the approaching points of the two continents. It is therefore highly probable, that the new world was peopled by the old; and it is useless to seek a first parent of its inhabitants different from our own.

We have now sufficiently delineated the predecessors of the principal nations in possession of Asia, to induce the curious reader to wait without impatience the information he is hereafter to receive more at large of the civil and military vicissitudes of their descendants. We shall in like manner give a general idea of our European ancestors. Many of them were the immediate offspring of Asia; and the others are more remotely allied to it. Some of their denominations still remain, such as Spaniards, Franks, Burgundians,

Germans, and Britons; whilst the Huns, Getæ, Goths, Celts, Alans, and Ostrogoths, exist no longer but in the page of the historian. It will be seen, that from a mixture of all these nations were formed the various governments which now regulate Europe.

SPANIARDS.

Spain, between the ocean, Mediterranean, and Gauls.

On casting our eyes on a map of Spain, we see it naturally divided by its mountains into small districts, each fitted to contain a people independent of its neighbours. Such was in fact the state of the country when first visited by the Carthaginians; and the names of many of these petty tribes are still known. Their origin is attributed to two sons of Japhet;—Jubal, who established here some of his posterity; and his elder brother, Gomer, father of the Celts, who brought them hence through Gaul. That part of those people which were farthest removed from the contagion of Roman and Carthaginian manners, long preserved the valour, customs, language, ferociousness, and even the religion of the Celts. It was that of the patriarchs. They adored one only supreme Being; not in temples, like the Greeks and Romans, but in consecrated groves. They believed a future state of reward and punishment. They offered sacrifices to this sovereign Being; and for many ages observed the greatest simplicity in their religious rites; till,

by a mixture with other nations, they became so superstitious as to offer human victims.

Whilst the population was small, the Spanish government remained under one head; but on its increase, was divided into small kingdoms, or republics, as it was when discovered by the Carthaginians and Romans. Hence the facility with which those conquerors subdued it. Its laws are unknown; but disputes between man and man, town and town, or district and district, appear to have been judged by a great council; to which whoever refused to submit, was allowed to fight the opponent: a mode of decision founded on the principle held by the Celts, that Providence always adjudged victory to the side of justice.

The Spaniards trusted too much to their courage, reckoning defensive arms unworthy of real valour; but were otherwise well skilled in the art of war, and knew so well the art of tempering steel, that no helmet was proof against their swords. Their address, both on foot and horseback, is mentioned with praise; and the time employed by the Romans to reduce them, evinces both their ability and fortitude. They defended themselves nearly two centuries before they became wholly subdued. When conquered, they were disarmed; a step which so greatly afflicted them, that many thousands, urged by

shame and despair, voluntarily escaped that ignominy by killing themselves.

Commerce, arts, and industry, were known amongst them, and they deserved not the reproach of proud indolence which has sometimes disgraced their descendants. Their language, fundamentally allied to the Hebrew, proves their Celtic original. It was grave and sonorous. They are said to have committed neither their history, arts, or religious customs, to writing; but preserved the memory of them in poems, which their poets, called druids, recited from memory, and transmitted to their disciples. The education of their children consisted in accustoming them to such food and exercises as were fitted to render them active and robust; and they esteemed it the greatest blessing to die fighting for their country; and even their women gave an example of intrepidity.

Not only the rivers of Spain produced gold, but the country, particularly the Pyrenees, was rich in mines of silver. Some shepherds having ignorantly set fire to some brambles, the flames spread to the mountains, and melting the silver of some of the mines, it flowed down in a stream. When the Carthaginians entered Spain, they found their household utensils of silver; and their horses' mangers are particularly recorded to have been of that metal. Besides

the riches drawn by them from this country during the time they were in possession of it, the sums carried off by the Romans in the space of nine years is surprizing. It amounted to eleven thousand five hundred and forty-two pounds weight of silver, and four thousand and ninety-five pounds of gold. Where are now these mines? and who could ever have foreseen, that the descendants of those rich Spaniards should be obliged to seek their gold and silver in a new world?

GAULS.

The only neighbours the Spaniards had by land were the Gauls. Ancient Gaul was greatly inferior to modern Gaul in the fertility of its lands. Whether through the neglect of its inhabitants—solely employed in war and hunting, and little attentive to its culture—or through the natural poorness of the soil, it possessed neither vine nor olive-tree, nor any sort of grain excepting wheat; and historians frequently remark the extreme coldness of its climate. It must undoubtedly be allowed, that the clearing away the forests, and draining the marshes, must in a course of time, in a manner, have altered the very climate, and produced that milder temperature of the air so favourable to the productions of the earth, which it now enjoys. From this cause it is, that the winters are shorter than in other countries under the same pa-

Gaul, between the ocean, Mediterranean, and the Rhine.

rallel. Cold, it is true, is often still felt severely here; but rarely binds up the waters so strongly as to form bridges capable of serving for the passage of armies over them, as was frequent in former times.

The Celtic Germans, as has been before observed, by degrees entered into and peopled this country; the natives of which consequently acknowledge Gomer son of Japhet for their progenitor: his religion must therefore have been the first of the country, and was long preserved there in its original simplicity. The near resemblance between the domestic and religious habits of Jews and ancient Gauls, must excite our surprise. Their festivals, curses, vows; the hierarchy of their priests, and sacrifices; greatly resembled those of the Jews. Like the Jews, they also sullied their religion by foreign rites. Their gods, under other names, had the same attributes as the deities of Rome. The Romans, on carrying their arms into Gaul, found its inhabitants already using incense, and making sacrifices; but they had no temples, of which their sacred groves supplied the place. Amongst the trees composing these groves, the oak was held in highest veneration; and some monuments of enormous magnitude yet remain, which are believed to have been dedicated to their religious worship. Those in highest preservation are to be seen in England, where the chief seat

of the religion of the Gauls is believed to have been long established. This consists of a circular building, composed of enormous stones standing distant from each other, joined by tenons, and ornamented by an architrave. It does not appear to have been ever covered in. In the midst is a stone larger than the rest, which served as an altar. All its parts still retain marks of the chisel. The more it is contemplated, the less easy is it to conceive by what means these blocks were brought to the spot they occupy, where none like them are found; and how they were raised and placed in their present position. At unequal distances from this monument of antiquity, small hills of various magnitudes appear; and from the remains of bones, arms, domestic utensils, and even female ornaments, which have been discovered on opening them, they are conjectured to have been receptacles of the dead.

The chiefs of their religion were druids, forming a distinct order of men; whose decisions extended to all affairs, public and private. Their antiquity is carried back as far as that of the Indian brachmans, the Persian magi, the Babylonian and Assyrian chaldees; in short, as far as the most ancient philosophic sects. They enjoyed the right of choosing the annual magistrates of each town; who could not without their

leave assemble the grand council: so that the druids were in fact sole masters of the government. Their chief was called the grand druid; and his residence is by the moderns represented to have been in the forests near Dreux: it is easy to see how absolute and extensive his power must have been. This order had colleges and schools, and presided over the education of youth, whom they instructed in all things but the use of arms. The druids and their disciples were exempted from going to war, as well as from every kind of tax. The order was not restrained to any particular family or nation; but every man approved of by their society might be admitted into it. The grand druid was elected by a majority of votes; and when any dispute arose on this head, it was decided by the sword.

They committed nothing to writing, but transmitted their poetry by rote, which contained their mysteries and their science. These verses were at length swelled to such a number, that twenty years were employed in learning them, to which the whole of their time was allotted; for they had no family concerns, enjoying their property in common, and entering into vows of celibacy. The fundamental points of their religion consisted in the worship of their gods; the abstaining from all evil; and an unshaken intre-

pidity in the execution of whatever they undertook. An order of able men, acting on this principle, might effect much. They taught the doctrine of a future life ; and instilled this salutary belief into the people. There is no science of which the ancients have not believed them masters, and they were supposed to be particularly skilled in prediction and physic. Their practice of the latter was accompanied by some superstitious rites, to heighten the respect paid to their prescriptions. Such were, consulting the planets for the time of applying remedies, and gathering plants. Some were to be plucked with one hand and not the other, the gatherer clothed in white and bare-footed, with other ceremonies apparently puerile ; but of which those who would govern others know the utility.

They had a religious respect for the mistletoe, a parasite plant produced on many trees ; but they paid a sort of worship only to that which was produced from the oak ; and the gathering of which was one of their greatest solemnities. The druids, after preparing for it by fasts and expiatory ceremonies, spread themselves over the forest in search of this plant. It was separated from the tree by a small golden bill : the chief of the druids performed the ceremony barefooted and clothed in white. It was so cut as to fall into a linen cloth held by the young druidesses at the foot of the tree. To this plant

they attributed the greatest virtues, and esteemed it of universal use in medicine.

The druideſſes were divided into three claſſes: the firſt was compoſed of thoſe who preſerved a perpetual virginity; the ſecond, of married women who were under vows of chaſtity, from which they were once in the year abſolved, when they ſaw their huſbands, with the expectation of having children; and the laſt claſs, who were free from the regulations impoſed on the two others, were allotted to their ſervice. Theſe prieſteſſes enjoyed great power in the nation. They aſſiſted, and even preſided, in its councils; and are ſuppoſed to have had the principal ſhare in the moſt ſolemn and moſt dreadful act of their religion—the offering of human ſacrifices.

On theſe occaſions the druideſſes, dreſſed in white and barefooted, wore a girdle of braſs. They darted on the unfortunate being, who was delivered up to them; and throwing him on the earth, dragged him to the foot of a great oak, at the foot of which a ſort of ſtage was erected, where ſtood the prieſteſs who was to perform the ſacrifice. She plunged a long knife into the victim's breaſt; and formed her predictions from the manner in which the blood flowed from the wound. The other druideſſes, who were at hand to aſſiſt, opened the dead body, and examined its entrails; by which they likewise

foretold the future. And these predictions, when communicated to the army or the council, were received with pious avidity. Prisoners taken in war were usually destined for this detestable rite: but in defect of such, other victims were chosen, who were adjudged by lot, or fixed on by inspiration. The druids partook with the druidesses in this horrid function, and are accused of having long supported so dreadful a superstition, in order to render themselves formidable.

The bards were another order in high estimation amongst the Gauls. Their employment was singing the praise of their warriors in hymns, which they accompanied with the sounds of their instruments: their poems were greatly admired, and the heroes they celebrated might expect immortality. They accompanied the army in order to be witnesses of the exploits they were to record, where they animated the combatants by their cries. They marked by the inflexions of their voice when victory declared for their party, or when it inclined to that of the enemy; in which case they excited their warriors to redouble their ardour and courage. The Gauls also had their vates, a class of poets or singers inferior to the bards. Amongst them eloquence was no less admired than poetry. They represented its power by the figure of an armed Hercules; but whose strength consisted not in his arms. Chains

issued from his mouth, which appeared open as if speaking ; these were fastened to the ears of those who surrounded him ; and by the loose and easy manner in which they hung, was meant to be expressed, that it was not by constraint but choice that his audience followed him.

At that period of time which immediately precedes the invasion of the Romans, the Gauls who had been long obedient to their monarchs, broke into various republics, and Cæsar on his entrance into their country found them so divided. Of these some were aristocratic, some mixed with democracy, and some purely democratic ; which last called themselves, by distinction, free. Each formed a region, district, or department, who chose a magistrate annually for the civil government, and a leader for the army. The neighbouring districts held also annually a general council, in which matters relative to the allied regions were regulated ; and even the divisions still governed by kings submitted to this regulation, and had the love of the public presided at these assemblies, the safety of Gaul had been ensured by them. But the Romans found means of introducing ambition into their councils, and fomenting hatred and disagreements amongst its members ; according to this maxim of Tacitus—" If they will not be " our friends, may they not at least be divided " within themselves, for fortune cannot do us a

“greater service than by their disunion.” A very wise law prevailed in the most republican of their governments, by which a private person learning any circumstance that concerned the interest of the public, was obliged to inform the magistrates without mentioning it to the people, who were to know no more of it than the magistrates should think fitting to be communicated to them. By this precaution they avoided those imprudent and hasty decisions to which the unreflecting impetuosity of the people often gives rise.

The trial by duel was not only allowed as a custom, but enforced as a law superior in its force to all others; since a Gaul condemned by a court of justice could always appeal to his sword, and compel his adversary to enter the lists against him. Duels also took place as mere matter of bravado, on a challenge in points of honour, and to settle differences in matters of obscure decision. This mania arose from the contempt of death, which was common to both sexes. These people when by old age, wounds, or sickness, they were reduced to a useless and dishonourable existence, either killed themselves, or received death as a benefit from the hands of their friends. When forced to retreat, and unable to carry off their wounded, they put them to death, and the sufferers received the mortal blow as a favour. The second Brennus being

dangerously wounded, called together his army, and named a leader to it, to whom his first order was to kill him with the rest of the sick and wounded, that he might be better able to lead back the others to their native country. Twenty thousand of these unfortunate beings were killed on this occasion.

The examples of contempt of death in their women surprize us still more. They fought at their husbands' side, and often against them, to compel them to return to the fight. When Marius pursued the Gauls, whom he had conquered, to their camp, he found it defended by their women, armed with swords and hatchets, who dealt their blows alike on the victor and the vanquished. When they were unable to defend themselves any longer, they asked three things of the Roman general:—that they might not be reduced to slavery; that with regard to their persons the laws of chastity should be respected; and that they might be devoted to attend on the vestals. These conditions being unfeelingly rejected, Marius found them on the next day all hung by their own hands, and covered with the blood of their children whom they had massacred. Cæsar was on two occasions witness to similar effects of their despair:—in the first they caused themselves to be murdered by the youths left behind in the camp, and who afterwards fell by each other's hands; in the second, no

means remaining of escaping from slavery, the women all at once plunged into a river. Some Gaulish woman having their choice of being sold or killed, without hesitation chose the latter ; and as notwithstanding this their conquerors persisted in putting them up to sale, they killed themselves, after having first performed the same sad service to their offspring.

That slavery, the dread of which greatly contributed to these desperate actions in both sexes, was in reality the most dreadful state ; by it they were torn from their country, deprived of their property and children, the bonds of marriage were broken, and they were for ever separated from all they loved. The liberty for which these people unhesitatingly sacrificed their lives was not an unmeaning word by which the imagination was heated, but it bore with it the signification of exemption from all the worst evils to which humanity is exposed. The only means of fixing the real import of this word liberty, and the advantages it promises, is to be well acquainted with the nature of those chains it can shake off, and the kind of oppression from which it is to free us ; and this was the comparison which made the Gauls prefer death to the loss of freedom.

Their military discipline was extremely imperfect. They reckoned on their courage and numbers, and abandoned every other advantage to their enemies. They were ignorant of

the art of besieging, though war was their predominant passion ; and, either from attachment to their ancient customs, or through contempt of those of other nations, it does not appear, notwithstanding their frequent use of arms, that they acquired any greater degree of expertness in defence. They were dreadful in the attack, and still more in invasion, in which such was the reputation they had acquired, that all those whom the Romans usually dispensed with bearing arms throughout the empire—priests, invalids, and the aged—were no longer sheltered by this privilege when they were threatened with an irruption of the Gauls. They had war-songs which they taught their children, and by which they inspired them with the love of arms from their earliest childhood.

Their language, which is the ancient Celtic, still exists in North Wales, Lower Brittany, Ireland, the isles of Anglesey and Man, and in Biscay. It appears rough to strangers, but is said to be concise and energetic. That any traces of it should remain is surprizing, considering the efforts made by the Romans for its destruction, and for substituting their own in its room, with intent to destroy the antipathy which the druids nourished against them, as well as to put an end to those bloody sacrifices that gave so much power to these priests. With this view the conquerors established schools in the

towns of Lyons, Bourdeaux, Toulouse, Narbonne, and Marseilles, which they rendered so flourishing, that, if the number be not exaggerated, in the time of Tiberius there were reckoned forty thousand students at Autun. The Gauls wrote very late, and very little; and the particular character they used is unknown. When they became accustomed to their conquerors, they adopted the Greek and Roman characters in writing their own language.

By inscriptions discovered at Paris, it is proved that the Gauls had commercial societies; consequently that commerce was largely carried on amongst them. Their favourite employment, and particularly that of their princes and great men, was the chase. The hunters every year celebrated a festival in honour of Diana, accompanied with offerings and feasts. The honour attached by them to the pursuit of this exercise, made them look on agriculture, and those who were obliged to follow it, with contempt. The class of hunters was the class of warriors; hence they were early accustomed to the race, on foot or on horseback; to throwing the javelin, and to a hard and frugal course of life when necessary. The young people were obliged to wear girdles of a stated length, and they were liable to a fine if they increased in size so as to have it enlarged. Their attachment to the chase brought on a disgust to all other exercises; a proud in-

dolence and ferocity ; and the love of festivals and good cheer. The tables of the Gauls were supplied with inebriating liquors as well as meats, and their repasts consequently rarely concluded without quarrels and bloodshed.

Their hospitality is much praised, and each strove for the honour of entertaining a stranger, whose murder was more severely punished than that of a native. Excepting in their wars, they were humane and compassionate, and so faithful that the Roman emperors had always a guard of Gauls. Their clothing was suited to a military life, easy to resume and put off, and consisted of a close vest and drawers. They wore their hair long, and adorned themselves with collars, bracelets of gold or copper according to their ranks, which they wore at the wrists and above their elbows. The druidical habit was white and long ; that of the women is not known. They did not allow of polygamy ; and this nation, since become so indulgent to their females, then assumed over them the right of life and death.

If we judge of the fruitfulness of their women by their emigrations, it appears wonderful. Over Italy alone Gaul poured forth such successive streams of warriors as almost wholly overflowed it. The torrents bursting from this vast reservoir ravaged many countries of Asia, and lesser streams, though still considerable, spread into Spain and even Africa. As from the depth of mud re-

maining on lands which have been overflowed we may judge what were the mass of waters that deposited it, the immense population of the Gauls may be calculated by the colonies they planted, and the almost incredible number of men of which their armies consisted.

Their first emigration was in A.M. 2377, under Bellovesus; when the inhabitants of Languedoc and Dauphiny formed establishments in the plains of Lombardy and Piedmont. Those who dwelt between the Seine and the Loire were led by Elitonis into the territory of Mantua, Carniola, and the republic of Venice. The borders of the Po, and the countries of Navarre, Placentia, Ravenna, and Bologna, were filled by the Lingones, and their neighbours whom they had associated to them by conquest. In 2614, Brennus, at the head of the Senones, seized on Rome. Italy was afterwards obliged to form a league against the invasion of the Gæsatæ, of whose situation we are ignorant; which league produced an army of eight hundred thousand fighting men. The Romans encountered the Gauls in the armies of Hannibal. Another Brennus, conjointly with Belgius and Cerethrius, led thousands of Gauls into Macedonia, Thrace, Dalmatia, and even into the neighbourhood of the Propontis and Greece, who fought and perished there, or became mingled with the inhabitants. Their numbers

in one spot was sufficiently great to introduce their name in a foreign land; and they became known under the appellation of Gallo Greeks.

The first step taken by the Romans for the reduction of the Gauls was the forming a road, by which their armies could, in case of necessity, proceed with rapidity and ease. This work was esteemed of such importance, that Marius who began, and Scaurus who ended it, received the honour of a triumph. This precaution did not prevent the Romans from suffering several bloody defeats in Gaul. Those under Cæpio and Manlius are remarkable from this circumstance: After the victory, the Gauls, who had vowed to give all the spoil to their gods, put to death all their prisoners, drowned their horses, and threw the gold and silver into the Rhine, though it properly belonged to them, since it had been taken by Cæpio from Toulouse, where it had been deposited, as in a sanctuary, by the Gauls. It belonged to the whole confederation, and consisted of at least a hundred thousand pounds weight of gold, and as much silver.

The slaves who revolted and made Rome tremble under Spartacus were chiefly Gauls. The ancient prejudice, by which they attached an idea of dishonour to a return into their country as slaves which they had left as warriors, prevented them from following the advice of their

leader, who wished to lead them back to it. Forty thousand Gauls perished with Spartacus, and their death became the prelude to the dreadful and repeated carnage made in Gaul by Cæsar. We shall hastily sketch these sources of horror, on which the conquerors build their pride. Cæsar defeated, near Mount Jura, Orgetorix, took his wife and family, and killed a hundred and thirty thousand men. On the borders of the Seine he vanquished Ariovistus: on that of the Rhine, Galba king of Soissons. He first left his daughter and two wives, with an immense booty, which was purchased with great bloodshed, in the hands of Cæsar. Of the army of the second, if historians may be relied on, such numbers fell, that their dead bodies served as a bridge for their flying brethren. Those of Vermandois defended themselves and were likewise cut off. A number of small republics suffered the same fate, whose divisions assisted the conquests of the Roman general. He united gentleness and exhortations to severity; and is said to have often given the terrible example of cutting off the right hand of the prisoners of those nations whose revolt he apprehended.

By these atrocious means Gaul became a Roman province; subjected, as its deputies complained, to the axe, and deprived of its customs and laws. These cruelties justify their dread of slavery, and their efforts against the Romans for

the preservation of their liberty. They emerged from time to time from this state of abasement. Some warriors appeared, who released them from oppression, or led them to conquest. But exhausted, alike by success as misfortune, Gaul was prepared to be an easy prey to the invasion of the Franks.

GERMANS.

Germany,
between the
Sea, the
Danube, the
Rhine, and
Hercynian
forest.

The description of Gaul will, in some degree, supply that of Germany, as the latter was, like it, distributed into small kingdoms or republics; sometimes forming under one leader a formidable power: the same temperature of the air, inimical to the fertility of the soil from its numerous forests, marshes, and lakes: the same origin deduced from the Celts, descendants of Gomer son of Japhet: the same religion and manners. Those of the Germans, only less softened, present a picture of still greater ferocity and barbarity of manners, joined to nobler virtues, more unalloyed by any disgraceful mixture. The names, and nearly the situation of these different nations are known with tolerable exactness. Nor is it difficult to conjecture the motives which carried them into Gaul, which were no doubt the same as those of that nation on their entrance into Italy, and originated in the search after a more favourable climate. They became powerful there; and Ariovistus, who

opposed Cæsar almost in the centre of Gaul, was a German leader.

The forest of Hercynia, the longest in Europe, was sixty days' journey in length, and nine in breadth. Some remains of it still exist under the name of the Black Forest: under the deep shades of its inmost recesses the human victims were sacrificed; the trees stained with blood, and spreading round their dark shadows. The red and moistened earth, covered with scattered bones, rendered them scenes into which even the priests themselves entered not without paleness of terror, dreading to meet there the cruel god which their own imaginations had formed, and whose glance alone was death to those whom he thought deserving his anger. The ministers of this bloody worship were, as in Gaul, the druids and druidesses. The latter were the real oracles of the nation, who presided in all their councils, and without whom no important steps were taken either in peace or war. Besides wisdom and maturity of judgment, the Germans attributed to these females the gift of prophecy. This respect for them is supposed to have originated in their having rendered themselves useful by the knowledge they had acquired of the virtues of plants: of these they composed internal remedies, or external applications, which they applied with success. It may be remarked, that a talent for medicine, even

when imaginary, has often been a means of propagating other dogmas.

General assemblies were annually held, at which every one was obliged to attend; and to which those who arrived last were killed. The kings, where there were any, lived on the produce of their own domains: the majesty of the throne was supported by voluntary donations and fines; the latter of which were very productive, as even murder was valued, and had its price. To the disgrace of the Germans, a less fine was inflicted for the killing a woman than a man. Women were constrained to perform all domestic offices; and when they travelled, beside carrying their children, they were laden with their household utensils, whilst the men, bearing nothing but their arms, condescended not to give them the least assistance. The same inattention still prevails with regard to them in that part of Germany where vassalage yet subsists; and such is the force of habit, that the women make no complaint of their usage. They have always been celebrated for their conjugal fidelity, nor do the men in any way cede this honour to them. Love was later and less forcibly felt in this country, where the fogs weaken the effect of the solar rays. The two sexes lived together indiscriminately in their families by night as well as by day. Accustomed to go unclothed from infancy, they were little scrupulous

on this head ; and the very custom prevented any attention from being paid to their appearance.

The Germans had neither town nor fortress; looking upon ramparts as the resource of cowardice. Their entrenchments were formed by their chariots and baggage, with the defence of which the women were charged. Every proof of courage which we have cited of the women of Gaul may be applied to the Germans. Their warriors, trusting to valour only, made use neither of tricks, stratagems, or machines. They went to fight singing songs they had been taught from their childhood ; from which period a respect for arms were instilled into them. The day they were first put into their hands was a holiday, the remembrance of which was never effaced from their minds. Their sword was their faithful companion by day and night, which they never quitted for a moment, and by which they swore. A sword and pike were placed at the head of their camp ; and a German never passed before these august insignia of valour without a gesture indicating respect to them.

The laws cannot be expected to have been very powerful amongst a people where the right of duelling held a still superior rank. Custom and their natural probity rendered the Germans just to each other, hospitable to strangers, exact observers of their words, and faithful in what

little trade they were engaged in. They long retained the habit of bartering only, as they were with difficulty accustomed to the use of coin; the Roman merchants having abused their simplicity, by giving them false money of iron, silvered over, instead of pure silver. They had no extraordinary production excepting amber, a kind of balsamic gum, which the sea threw, and still throws, upon their coasts, though in much less abundance than formerly.

If military and rustic songs, accompanied by noisy and discordant instruments, may be called music, they were in possession of that art; and if the practice of a few receipts may be called the knowledge of medicine, they were not ignorant of that; but wholly so of the structure of the human body, and the solids and fluids of which it is composed. They knew no games but such as consisted in exercise—jumping, running, swimming, riding, bending the bow, casting the sling, and lancing the javelin. Yet they were not ignorant of dice, on which they sometimes staked all they possessed, even their liberty.

Before weaving was introduced, the skins of beasts were in use as clothing; to the heads of these, with which the warriors adorned their own, they added the horns, teeth, or any other accompaniment which they thought rendered them more terrible. The women were, no doubt, first disgusted with these hideous additions. In their

rich soil, hemp easily prospered, and from it the German women drew that thread of which they made the cloth of their first dresses: they were tall and well made, and of a lively complexion for those who have fair hair, which was the national colour. The blue eyes of the women were suffered negligently to wander or to languish, whilst the men endeavoured to express threats and obdurateness by theirs.

The national ferocity was observable in their funerals. They, like the Gauls, petitioned the old, infirm, and useless, to die, or suffer themselves to be killed; and when they yielded not with a good grace, obliged them to comply by force. The only difference on such occasions consisted in the shouts of joy uttered during the funeral festivals of those who suffered willingly, whose courage they thus celebrated, whilst over the involuntary victim they feasted in silence. The arms, usually the favourite horse, and sometimes even the slaves of the dead, were burnt or buried with them;—a dreadful custom! which yet indicates their belief of another life into which these unfortunate wretches were sent still to serve their master. Every ceremony was accompanied with a feast; not only funerals, but marriages, births, alliances, return to their country, congratulations, every thing gave an opportunity to the German of eating. They had fermented liquors to which they were much attached,

though they were long ignorant of wine. The emperor Probus brought the vine into their country, which he planted on the borders of the Rhine and Moselle. Had the vice of drunkenness, with which the Germans are reproached, been introduced by it, his present had been a bad one: but they were before accustomed to be intoxicated, though by a less agreeable medium.

Were it not for the sanguinary annals of the Romans we should be ignorant of the political existence of the Germans. It is from them in the course of their wars that we have learnt what was the government of that people, and are enabled to form an idea of their manners and mode of fighting. From their accounts we learn, that if their want of discipline did not secure them victory, yet their courage was unconquerable, and valour even sometimes bore the prize from discipline. The Cimbri, a German people, beat four consuls successively. If historians are to be believed, in the battles gained by the Romans they lost very few soldiers, whilst whole nations of Germans were destroyed. They, however, allow them to have defended themselves with much courage, and their women fought with the utmost desperation: even their dogs, trained to seize on those who endeavoured to appropriate the baggage of their masters, caused no small inconvenience to their conquerors. It remains to say, that under the names of Franks, Alle-

manni, Gepidæ, Burgundians, and others, the Germans in the end took a severe revenge for the ravages committed by the Romans amongst them. The Britons, to whom the next article is dedicated, enjoyed not the same advantage.

BRITONS.

Great Britain, which comprehends England and Scotland, was also named Albion, either from the whiteness of its cliffs or its inhabitants: its form is that of an irregular triangle; its seas, which are stormy, abound in fish. It was once covered with woods, which have made way for fields sufficiently fertile to boast the abundance of corn they produce. Marle was known and used amongst them. An opinion by the inhabitants obtains that this island was formerly joined by a neck of land to the continent of Gaul, which a tempest or earthquake destroyed. The western part of the island was peopled from Gaul, the east by the Picts coming from the north of Germany. We are ignorant whether the Britons, who inhabited the centre of the island, were a mixture of those two people, who gradually advanced to each other, aborigines, or the offspring of colonies from other places.

The island of Great Britain, between Gaul, Germany, and Ireland.

It is impossible to say any thing satisfactory concerning their history before the time of Cæsar; what he relates of them here follows. Their country is well stored with men and cattle;

they have only scattered huts ; and their money is of iron or leather. What they call towns and forts are spots defended with felled wood and a ditch. They, like the Gauls, have monarchies, republics, and general assemblies—in short, a similar government. They advance intrepidly to fight, and are extremely sober. Their usual food is milk and game ; in times of want they make a kind of aliment of the barks and roots of trees. They also cover themselves with the skins of beasts, but when they have none can go without ; it is neither painful nor disagreeable to them to be naked. A commerce was kept up with them—that is, their commodities, and particularly their tin, was sought by other nations : but they were long without thinking to make any use of their seas as a source of riches. “ Their ignorance in this respect,” says a Roman author, “ is in proportion to their distance from the continent.”—He adds, “ they are simple and upright in their transactions, and ignorant of the deceitful subtilties of our countrymen.” Their religion was identically that of the Gauls : they had their druids, druidesses, and human victims. The manners of the two nations very nearly resembled each other. But if the women amongst the Gauls passed the night in their hovels without any covering whatever, surrounded with their relatives, custom allowed still more to females of Britain. “ Wherewith,” said they to the em-

prefers Julia, "have you to reproach us? we only, " with chosen companions, allow that in the " fight of the whole world which the Roman " ladies permit themselves in secret with their " freedmen or slaves."

Cæsar's vanity in recounting his victories has at least afforded us the advantage of knowing the names of several British divisions and their respective positions. He does not conceal to what dangers the valour of this people exposed him, and avows, that without their intestine discords and misunderstandings he had in vain endeavoured at their subjection: it was by these rather than by their arms that the Roman generals his successors succeeded against them. They were even compelled, not to risk their first success, to stop in their victories to defend themselves by walls and ramparts, of many miles extent, against the irruptions which threatened their conquests. It was thus the emperors Adrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, acted. Severus separated England from Scotland by a wall guarded with towers and ditches. The Romans also divided the whole island by their roads; to succeed in which, it was necessary to level mountains, cut down forests, pierce through rocks, and drain marshes. This the Romans performed, less for the utility of the inhabitants, than to secure the facility of transporting their own troops in haste; and to be

always in readiness against a people, broken and prostrate indeed, but never subdued.

2944.

Cæsar mentions as the pretence of his war on the Britons the succours they had afforded the Gauls ; but it is easy to perceive that the real motive of it arose from ambition, the love of glory, and the hope of plunder in a new region. He amazed the inhabitants by the appearance of his vessels, whose form was new to them, as well as by the rapidity of his movements. He beat them, forced them to fly, and left a camp of one legion to overawe them, whilst he returned to Gaul. But he was no sooner gone, than they attacked his legion. The Roman general returning to assist his soldiers, conquered once more, and secured his victory by treaties. Augustus made use of the divisions Cæsar had raised in Britain to maintain there the power of the empire. Tiberius neglected this conquest. Caligula shewed a great desire to display the Roman eagle in this island, but he only shewed it at a distance. This madman, knowing that he was expected in firm order by the Britons on their shores, drew his army out on the Belgic coast, and ordering the charge to be sounded, all the soldiers, according to the orders they had received, running forward, picked up the cockle-shells from the sands, with which, as a valuable booty, they filled their helmets. The emperor made known this grand expedition to

the senate, and demanded for it a triumph, which they dared not refuse him.

The emperor Claudius, by means of a civil war which he fomented, conquered a small part of Britain, for which he triumphed at Rome, and received the addition Britannicus. Titus and Vespasian, continuing to conquer, made prisoners their kings and queens. Agricola reduced the western part of the island to a Roman province, and both he, Severus, and those generals who succeeded them, defended themselves by ramparts against the eastern part inhabited by the Picts. The unfortunate Britons found a relief in having the Roman legions to oppose to the incursions of these barbarians. They were constantly established in the centre of Britain; and from thence appeared Constantine, who afterwards became emperor. The disasters of the empire caused the recalling of those legions, which melted away for want of new supplies. The Britons, when left to themselves, suffered miseries which they thus pathetically describe in a letter to the Roman consul, which was superscribed—*The tears of the Britons to the consul Aetius*: “The barbarians,” say they, “drive us to the ocean, the ocean again drives us back on the barbarians: thus of two kinds of death continually before our eyes we are compelled to choose one or the other—to be covered with the waves, or to be killed by our enemies.”

They were at that time governed by kings only. The historian Gildas, who abounds in complaint and misery, says, that the Britains placed on their throne none but those who were renowned for cruelty; that those who conferred on them the sovereign power put them afterwards to death, less for their crimes, than to have an opportunity of raising a still worse man to their place; that they esteemed as cowards such of their princes as appeared more humane than the rest, and accordingly loaded them with insult. In such monarchs are expected at least some qualities useful to their people, which may make amends for their barbarity; and it would be supposed that they at least defended them against the Picts and Scots, their enemies; but, on the contrary, they suffered these barbarians to ravage their country with fire and sword. The wretched Britons sought shelter in vain in their forests and caves, where they found no security from the devastations of their enemies. A great part passed over into Armorica, a division of Gaul, the present Bretagne. Despair gave strength to those who remained, and furiously darting on their enemies, their endeavours were crowned with success; but a dreadful famine ensuing, completed their wretchedness. In these miseries, the christian historian Gildas sees the hand of God on the Britons, distressing or relieving them in proportion as their crimes, and

particularly those of the clergy, called down his vengeance, or their repentance excited his pity.

Vortigern, the only one of their kings who is A.D. 457. named as at once indolent and weak, avaricious and cruel, aroused by the clamours of his people, called a council to deliberate on the steps to be taken in this extremity. Thinking themselves unable longer to maintain the war alone, the resolution was then taken of calling in foreigners to their aid. Their choice fell on the Saxons, a people of Germany, originating in the Cimbric Chersonesus (now Jutland);—and who from thence passed to a spot near Denmark, called Angel; from whence is formed the name Anglia;—and who are at this time settled on the shores of Zealand. They were known to the Britons by their piracies: and this nation, degenerate in sense as well as courage, imagining they should find defenders in these pillagers, received them into the heart of their cultivated fields and country, abounding in men and cattle. The Saxons at first arrived to the number of five hundred only, and conducted themselves bravely against the common enemy: but it was soon discovered that their success would be more decisive if their numbers were greater; and they promised to send for a reinforcement.

Hengist, their leader, sent for a second and a third addition. He asked for himself only as

much land as a bull's hide would cover. So small a gift could not be refused; and the Saxon, as Dido had formerly done in Africa, cutting into thin slips, surrounded with it a space sufficient for the erection of a formidable fortress. With the third colony of Saxons his daughter Rowena arrived, whose charms fascinating the eyes of Vortigern, contributed to shut them on the many masters he was giving himself under the title of auxiliaries, as well as to the chains he prepared for his people by taking a stranger so attended for his father-in-law. The nation partook not of his blindness. The husband of Rowena, probably too conceding to his new father, was deposed, and his son Vortimer put in his place: he reigned only six years; and Vortigern, after his death, re-ascended the throne. In this period, Hengist had settled in Kent, and formed there the first Saxon kingdom.

During a hundred and thirty years of continued war against the Britons, the Saxons, still strengthened by additions from Germany, increased so much as to form themselves into seven kingdoms, since known under the appellation of the Saxon Heptarchy. In proportion to their increase was the diminution of the Britons, a part of whom were added to the Armoric colony, whilst another part taking refuge in Wales divided it into six portions, each of which they honoured with the title of kingdom. The rest

mixed with their conquerors, not as allies and equals, but rather as slaves, whom these imperious masters treated with the utmost harshness.

If the picture drawn of their manners by Gildas be true, the Britons deserved their fate.

"Their kings," says he, "are tyrants in the true sense of the word. They take wives, yet maintain a criminal intercourse with the most abandoned women. Their oaths are no better than perjuries. They undertake no wars but what are unjust, and if obliged to punish robbers, yet keep the most notorious in their court, and seat them at their table. The judges whom they choose are feared only by the innocent." This historian then proceeds to commemorate each king by the vice particular to him, or by the accumulation of those he possessed in common with the rest. Constantine the adulterer, who was also the assassin of the next heirs to the throne in the arms of their mother; Aurelius Conanus, equally unchaste and more cruel; Vortipore, a bad son, a tyrant to his people, with the accumulated crime of the seduction of his own daughter; Cuniglasus, adding to the crime of adultery that of breaking the vows of religious chastity made by the associate of his crime.

Maglocunus, of uncommon size, a good warrior, prodigal to excess, usurping the throne and then moved by remorse, repenting in a

monastery, tired with penance, returning to his wife, to whom he was as unfaithful as to his vows of contrition. He left the penitentiary discipline for the poniard of the assassin, by which he got rid of his wife and seized that of his nephew; who, worthy of such a lover, had also made away with her husband.

Gildas, who knows not how to do any thing but complain, busy in relating these truly deplorable crimes, has neglected to record the virtues of those good princes who, according to the usual order of things, must have been mixed with the bad. He allows there were some good bishops whilst he related the irregularities of some priests—their simony, their bad morals, pride, and avarice. He should have likewise made known such whose eminent virtues in that time of depravity appeared for the consolation of the church of Britain. The progress of christianity amongst the Saxons is a proof of the virtues of those who taught it. These people had imported from Germany the polytheism of the Cimbri and their homicidal worship. They abandoned by degrees these wild and barbarous doctrines; but many ages passed before the English church shone forth with a splendour by which it has become so celebrated.

Leaving this island, and returning to the continent, we shall find all the nations which contributed to the dissolution of the Roman empire

losing themselves by their incorporation with each other; destroyed by their own victories, or still surviving in the people to whom they have transmitted their names. Appropriating to each of these their particular heads, we shall collect the principal facts which led them to a glorious rise or a premature destruction.

HUNS.

The history of a river rolling its waters majestically from its source, and after dividing itself becoming again united, overflowing and fertilizing as it passes, till, immersed in gulphs, it rolls for a time unknown; then bursting impetuously forth in one mass or in many streams it loses itself in the vast ocean:—such is the history of the Huns, Goths, Visigoths, Vandals, and other northern people, which we shall now sketch. The greater part of them were no sooner known than formidable, till attracted by the hope of gain they were for a time divided again. United by the common necessity of defence, they peopled uninhabited lands, and laid waste the most flourishing countries. In their intervals of quiet, when a calm succeeded their exhausted fury, they were forgotten. Awakened once more by the sound of the trumpet, their ravages were renewed, till mingling in the ocean of nations they became confounded with them and forgot-

ten. Such were the Huns, of whom we shall now speak.

If we wish to know the origin assigned them by the hatred and resentment their horrid cruelties had inspired, we may find it in the words of the historian Jornandes. "A Gothic king having entered the territory of the Scythians, discovered amongst them a prodigious number of female forcerers. To remove those detestable women to a distance from his army, he drove them into the desert, where the impure spirits inhabiting those solitary regions became enamoured of them; and from this intercourse originated the nation of the Huns." Such is the fable that has met with a serious refutation. Jornandes, in our opinion, only adopts this mode of expressing that the Huns were so execrable a people that they could only be the offspring of hell itself.

Historians deduce them from the Scythians, seated behind Mount Caucasus. They divide them into two bodies, of which the one, under the title of white Huns, having removed into the neighbourhood of Persia, and settled in its delightful plains, adopted gentler manners: from which, however, the following custom must be excepted. Each chief amongst them chose a score of friends, with whom he divided his wealth, and shared his pleasures during his life; but, who

were to be interred in the same tomb with him at his death. These white Huns were in other things equitable toward each other, and just to their neighbours, whom they did not attack, but by whom they would not be attacked with impunity. The Persians more than once had reason to repent having exasperated them. The race of the victors and the vanquished have become confounded in their mutual approximation.

The other division, stronger and more numerous, retained those habits of ferocity to which they accustomed their children from infancy, by flashing their faces. Some represent this as being done to render them hideous and terrible; others, as only intended to accustom them to suffer. They had no houses, not even hovels; as they called them the tombs of the living. They passed their whole lives on horseback, in which situation they ate and slept: and it was a proverbial expression, *that a Hun knew not how to walk*. The skins of beasts served for their clothing: and their women were no more delicate than themselves, either with respect to food or attire. A victorious chief became a god in their eyes, and they fulfilled all his commands; but when conquered, he seemed less than man, and was massacred by them. Nothing is to be learnt of their religion, which in the tumult of a camp was no doubt unreasonable and barbarous like its inhabitants.

These Huns, issuing from behind Mount Caucasus, whose passages they opened, arrived at length at the lake Mæotis, a barrier which they considered as the end of the world, and the term of all their wanderings; when, by a fortunate chance, they found themselves agreeably undeceived. A hind, pursued by the hunters of the Alans, who were settled on the other side of the marsh, which was believed to be impassable, made its way over on the side of the Huns. These following the track of the hind, passed it, and discovered the beautiful plains watered by the Tanais, so highly preferable to their miry lands, covered with perpetual and almost impenetrable fogs. The report made by the discoverers to their companions induced them also to venture over. They succeeded, and driving out the Alans, spread from thence over the empire. Historians follow their progress as the Asiatics and Africans do those of the destructive locust. Their path was marked with blood, and to be traced by universal desolation.

The Huns, “ numerous,” says the historian Ammianus, “ as the sands of Lybia, were often “ opposed by the Goth, Vandals, and other “ nations, *multiplied as the sparks of Ætna.*” The Roman empire was their field of battle. These masters of the world, under the name of presents, disguised the tribute they were compelled to pay to those unlicensed hordes, whom they

could not wholly repel from their frontiers. They found also another resource against them, by taking considerable corps from amongst them into pay in their own armies; an expedient which proved fatal to those who employed it. The Huns, incorporated in the Roman armies, adopted their discipline; and whenever they were united by a leader, capable of framing regular designs, became a most formidable enemy. Amongst their chiefs are reckoned Uldin, who disturbed the empire in the time of Theodosius the Great. Rougas who threatened Constantinople, Uptar who gained a powerful establishment in Gaul, and many others, whose names are unknown, but who, by the little which is recorded of them, we discover to have carried the terror of their arms from the borders of Asia to the furthest extremities of Europe, and appear to have been the worthy forerunners of the renowned Attila.

He had a brother named Bleda, to whom their uncle Rouas, or Roas, left his crown in conjunction with Attila. We are not to imagine the armies of this prince to have been solely composed of Huns. No less than eleven nations are reckoned to have marched under his standard; amongst which appear the Suevi, Gepidæ, Sarmatians, and other barbarians. The general name of Huns was applied to this aggregate of different tribes, either because they formed the

chief part of them, or because their leader was of that nation : we say their leader, for Attila was not of a disposition long to brook a colleague. He caused his brother Bleda to be assassinated; and his sole authority was then acknowledged from the borders of the Rhine to the northern frontier of the Persian monarchy. He conceived the design of filling or overturning the thrones of the east and west; but unable to do either the one or the other, found pleasure in humiliating and debasing their emperors; exacting from them the sacrifice of their provinces, or money, in the form of a tribute; and imposing on them the most disgraceful conditions—such as that which he prescribed to Theodosius the Second, by which he restored to him the princes of the blood-royal of the Huns, who had taken refuge at his court. They were sent back to their conqueror, by whom they were crucified.

The predominant characteristic of Attila was pride; and his favour was only to be obtained by yielding to this passion. Couridachus, the king of a neighbouring nation, having conducted himself in a doubtful manner, was ordered by the imperious Hun to appear before him. Instead of attending, he answered: “It would be impossible for him to support the splendour of so great a divinity:”—a piece of flattery which was more useful to him than any justification.

The king of the Huns took pride in the title bestowed on him by the indignant world—*The Scourge of God* :—if he were but allied to divinity, he cared not by what pretensions. Kings and princes surrounded him in silence, studied his every motion, and scarce dared to lift up their eyes before him.

Attila was of a dark complexion ; his stature short, his chest broad, with a flat nose and small eyes. The insolent ferocity of his temper appeared in his step, his look, and every motion ; and it was only necessary to see him to judge him born to disturb the repose of the whole earth. He could not have governed so brave a nation as that of the Huns, had he not possessed the most consummate courage ; yet he differed from the barbarians, who trusted to that alone, for he neglected not the stratagems of war machines, and other resources of art ; and his treaties by no means rested on a basis of plain dealing, for he allowed himself somewhat more than cunning in their explication : yet with regard to his subjects, he was extremely just, exacted no levy beyond what they could pay, easily forgave those who submitted to him, and never abandoned such as put themselves under his protection.

Either through choice or affectation, he suffered no luxury with respect to himself. Neither his sword, horse, or trappings, were adorned

with gold or precious stones, though such was the custom usual with those of his court. His guests were served with delicacies in gold and silver, whilst before him the simplest meats were placed on a trencher. At table he was grave and serious; and a jest, which excited the laughter of some Roman ambassadors at his table, obtained not a smile from him. But if in public he was temperate, he made ample amends for the constraint he then suffered, by drinking largely in his private repasts. He is reproached with the utmost licentiousness; not only having some women, but, according to an historian, a whole troop of them in his train. There appears to have been one mistress superior to the rest, since Priscus, the envoy of Theodosius, being charged with presents to them, found one, named Recha, sitting on a couch, and the others at work on the ground round her.

Attila did not neglect those small means, which are often more powerful than great ones, to attract the confidence of the people. The sword of Mars had from time immemorial been held in the highest veneration by the Scythian ancestors of the Huns. Either by chance, or by the address of Attila, an old sword was found and brought to him with great pomp, as that of their god. The monarch received it with the highest respect, as a presage that he was to extend his conquests to the utmost limits of the earth. The

credulous soldiery, animated by this prediction, became, under the protection of the god of their ancestors, insensible to dangers and difficulties.

All the subterfuges used by Theodosius to avert the arms of Attila proved useless. War was necessary to this leader of an army glowing with impatience. He ravaged Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, and alarmed Constantinople. The emperor, after having lost whole armies, opposed the torrent by six thousand pounds weight of gold, with a promise to pay twelve thousand annually; besides which, he submitted to the disgraceful conditions imposed on him, as to the redemption of prisoners, and giving up those whom he had protected. Theodosius took part in a plot formed in his court against the life of his enemy. He was discovered, and Attila forgave him; but it was for money. The emperor Marcian, who succeeded Theodosius, wished to throw off the tribute. To the Huns, who came to demand it, he haughtily replied: "Theodosius is no more; and I have gold for my friends, and steel for my enemies." The answer succeeded; Attila thought it prudent to leave Marcian in peace, and turned his arms against Valentinian the Third, emperor of the west. 452.

This prince had a sister named Honoria, who, at the time of his mounting the throne, was also declared Augusta; by which title she acquired

a certain degree of right to the empire, though not to exercise any authority in it. It was perhaps a reason for not suffering her to marry. She desired to do both. She wrote to Attila to come to her deliverance; offered him her hand, and sent him a ring as the pledge of her faith. The king of the Huns received this as the bond of a serious engagement, and demanded this princess in marriage. She would have been willingly yielded to him, but he required also the half of the empire as her portion. Honoria herself put an end to the pretensions to which she had given rise. Tired of a state of celibacy, she exhibited an appearance, which was endeavoured to be represented to the king of the Huns as the effect of a marriage she had contracted; and he accepted the reason from a desire to lull the emperor into security with respect to the more extensive plans which he meditated.

452.

The rapidity of Attila's movements have been always a subject of surprize: they were similar to the lightning which, at the moment it bursts from the east, appears in the west. He has been already seen over-running Greece and Thrace, and threatening Constantinople. From the remotest parts of Scythia he appeared in Germany. Neither Treves, Strasburg, Spire, Mentz, or any other city, could resist him. He led with him the Heruli, Suevi, Quadi, Marcomanni, all the nations of the north, and passed the Rhine at

the head, as some say, of five hundred thousand, according to others, seven hundred thousand men, and arrived at Chalons on the Tharne, on the plains of Catalaunum. There he was waited for by the Roman general Aetius, accompanied by Theodoric king of the Visigoths, Merovee king of the Franks, and a host of Sarmatians, Saxons, Burgundians, Belgæ, and Armoricans, which swelled this army to little less than that of Attila. The battle was one of the bloodiest that was ever fought, and night only brought it to a close. The rising sun, which beamed on the field of carnage, offered to the view vast plains covered with the dying and the dead, to the number it is supposed of three hundred thousand. The silence reigning in the camp of the Huns made known this discomfiture: but Aetius found them too well fortified to venture attacking them; and either from envy, or a fear of being himself insecure in the midst of so many auxiliaries, he engaged each to return home, as if their assistance were no longer necessary.

This kind of defection induced Attila to resume the intention he had always nourished of marching to Rome. With his usual celerity he passed the Alps; but being detained before Aquileia, which was defended by the flower of the Roman troops, his soldiers became discouraged. The general, who knew how to use every circumstance to his advantage, pointed out to them

some flocks, who, probably terrified by the noise of a siege, fled with their young. "They abandon," said he, "a town whose ruin their instinct informs them is at hand." After this prediction he gave the assault, and the town was taken: it was plundered and reduced to ashes. Treviso, Mantua, Cremona, and Bergamo, suffered the same fate. The wretched inhabitants of these countries took refuge in the marshes formed by the north-western extremity of the Adriatic, and laid the foundation of Venice. Milan became a heap of ruins, and Rome trembled at his approach; but Valentinian stopped the destructive torrent, by once more opposing to it a rampart of money. Hence Attila caused his portrait to be drawn as victor, and the emperor and his courtiers with bags of money on their shoulders, whose contents they were pouring at his feet.

When he had received the ransom of Rome, the king of the Huns seemed to meditate an attempt on Constantinople; but this is said to have been only a feint, to conceal his intention of returning into Gaul; to efface there the disgrace of the repulse he had received from the monarchs of that country, who had joined with Aetius against him. He stopped to give a feast to his army on account of his marriage with Ildico, an extraordinary beauty; but at what place is not known. In the transports of his

joy, contrary to his custom, he drank to excess: and as he did not appear at the usual hour next day, his chamber was forcibly entered, where he was found dead; most probably by a stroke of apoplexy. His young bride sat beside him wrapt in her veil, and weeping. But what was her history after a night so dreadful is unknown.

The body of the monarch was conveyed with pomp to a vast plain, and placed under a tent of silk. Chosen horsemen from every nation paraded round, mournfully singing the exploits of their king. A feast was given, which lasted the greatest part of the night; and the body was interred with secrecy, enclosed in three coffins of gold, silver, and iron. Around it was arranged the finest arms, and richest spoils he had taken, and the ceremony concluded by the massacre of all those who had been employed in his interment, lest they should steal the treasure, or reveal its situation to others. With this prince ended the empire of the Huns, the dissolution of which was begun by the civil war that took place amongst the numerous children he left behind. It will be easily conceived that this vast army, once dispersed, spread on all sides without order or discipline. Whole bodies retired fated with plunder, which they carried off with them to the different places where they established themselves. As their interests changed, they appear

under their kings or queens defending the empire or invading it, seizing on provinces or obliging them to be assigned to them. The Uturgurian Huns fought with the Cuturgurian, of whom the last united and enfeebled remnant was defeated by Belisarius. The Franks under Clothaire drove them beyond the Danube; from whence they again appeared to be subdued by Charlemagne. The body of their nation is supposed to have remained in Pannonia; and from the Ugri, the ancient general name of the Huns, is derived the modern appellation of Hungary.

GOTHS.

794.
Goths.

The origin of the Goths, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, and other nations, has given rise to enquiries equally laborious and fruitless. They, like the Huns, are represented as coming from the frozen north, from whence they were eager to escape in search of a more favourable climate, whenever they found themselves sufficiently strong for the undertaking. What must have been the country they left, to which Sweden, Norway, Lapland, and the Isles of the Baltic, were thought preferable? We shall hence follow their traces; and we shall in general refer to the regions from whence all these nations—the Cimbri, Teutones, and others—first assembled, after their quitting their native country, and from which they set out on their invasions in the north and south.

They covered our horizon like a cloud, through whose thickness the rays of history with difficulty penetrates: they produce only some flashes of light, by which we distinguish, though not without trouble, a few singular customs and events worthy of being collected and recorded.

The Goths, Getæ, and Cimbri, were but one people, who spoke the same language; and Woden, the great magician, was the first Gothic conqueror. He settled in Sweden, whither he brought, or where he found or invented, the Runic, which are the ancient Gothic characters. Woden was a poet as well as forcerer. He is said to have settled people in Prussia, Livonia, a great part of Muscovy, and Tartary, where he left his language amongst the Tartars of Precop. Hospitality as well as polygamy was in great estimation amongst them. A man was respected in proportion to the number of his wives, and from thence they left a multitude of children, whom they suffered not to remain in indolence with their household gods, one only being kept at home. As soon as their age would allow of it, their fathers sent them out to seek an establishment in other countries, from whence issued new swarms of these destructive depredators. They were called Visigoths, or western Goths, and Ostrogoths, or Goths of the east. They punished adultery with death—doubtless in the women, for men, who have had the making of laws, always knew how

to spare themselves. They wore horse-hair shoes, but their legs and thighs were uncovered. Their clothing, which did not reach beyond the knee, was generally of green with a red bordering. They plaited their hair, and made use in war of a hooked lance and hatchets.

A.D. 215. Caracalla was the first who quarrelled with the Goths, and induced them to take arms against the empire; after which succeeded an uninterrupted course of wars accompanied with every excess usual amongst nations imperfectly civilized. It will be sufficient just to point them out. The empire early paid a kind of tribute to the Goths. The emperor Alexander was of Gothic origin. In consequence of his violent death, they seized on Thrace and Mœsia, which the Ostrogoths wished to share with them, but were subdued. The victors, conquered in their turn by the Roman emperor Decius, asked peace of him on reasonable terms. He refused them; and, strengthened by despair, they cut his army to pieces, whilst himself perished in the battle, and his son submitted to pay them tribute.

266.

The Goths were divided into several bands, one of which ravaged Greece, and plundered the temple of Ephesus; another entering Asia laid waste all the provinces of that empire, and having equipped a formidable fleet passed the Bosphorus, and assisted by a land army, which followed its course, spread devastation over the shores of

Greece. Adverse winds, the plague, and some fortunate engagements, freed the Romans from both these invaders; but a division of them who had escaped these misfortunes began their ravages anew, and became sufficiently strong to merit the attention of the emperor in person. Aurelian marched against them, and triumphed over them in a car drawn by four stags, which he had taken from one of their kings, named Cannabaud. Both amongst the prisoners and the dead were found several women, dressed like men, who had fought valiantly. On the Danube they were vanquished by Diocletian. They appeared afterwards in Gaul, putting to flight the Burgundians and Vandals, and in their turn flying before Constantine, whom they had raised to the throne and made an alliance with. Too proud of the service they had done him, they became insolent, and Constantine restrained these dangerous benefactors by a victory so obviously miraculous, that many amongst them embraced christianity.

Their new religion rendered them neither less Alaric, 395. active, nor less troublesome to their neighbours. From time to time chiefs arose amongst them who became great conquerors. One of these, named Hermanaric, a conqueror of all the northern nations, has been compared to Alexander the Great; and the name of Alaric still remains famous. In consequence of the disagreements between Arca-

dius and Honorius, or rather between their ministers Stilicho and Rufinus, this prince played an important part in the affairs of the empire. Rufinus drew him into that part of Greece which was dependent on the east which he governed; that Arcadius, thus attacked, might be unable to do without him. Stilicho, in consequence, hastened to the succour of Greece, though not in his department, with the hope to meet and destroy his rival. These two, to answer their own ambition, called Gainas, Tribigald, and Radagaisus, all Gothic captains, into the empire; who, sometimes in the emperor's pay, sometimes fighting against him, all miserably perished. Alaric alone maintained himself; and, tired of being the sport of Roman policy—fought and flattered when he could be useful, but treated with negligence and contempt when his assistance was no longer necessary—exactd from Honorius the promise of four thousand pounds weight of gold as the price of his quitting the walls of Rome. But the emperor, under various pretences, deferring to fulfil his promise, Alaric returned, took and gave the city up to plunder; and died a short time afterwards.

Ataulphus first introduced the power of the Goths and Visigoths into Spain: both he and his successor Sigeric were killed. Vallia, without losing sight of Spain, fixed his seat of empire at Thoulouse, where Theodoric the First,

and Thorismond, a warlike prince, maintained themselves. The latter is called by an historian of his time, the haughty and intractable king of the Goths. He was assassinated by the officers of his army, excited to it as it is believed by his brother Theodoric the Second, who succeeded him. The latter professed a sincere friendship for the Romans, who let him pursue his victories in Spain without interruption. Theodoric established his government there, but when he expected to enjoy it, was hurled from the throne by the same kind of crime through which he had obtained it—by the hand of his brother Eric. He drove the Romans out of Spain, and seized upon almost all belonging to them in Gaul. This prince governed his people with a rod of iron: but he loved justice, and bestowed laws on them which his successors perfected. The court of Eric was kept at Bourdeaux, and was both brilliant and numerous. Sidonius, who had seen it, says that the Saxons, Franks, Heruili, Burgundians, and even Romans, bore the appearance of suppliants in it. His great penetration and boldness of enterprize rendered him formidable. He was a zealous arian, and persecutor of the catholics. The bishop's sees vacated in his reign were not filled. Sidonius observes, that he hoped by this means to give a mortal blow to religion, which would cease to be provided with worthy ministers,

as they could never be properly chosen but by bishops.

453.

Whilst the Goths and Visigoths prospered in Gaul and Spain, the Ostrogoths were dreaded in Pannonia, Sclavonia, and all the countries watered by the Danube, even as far as Italy. They repulsed the Huns, Allemanni, and Sarmatians, and assisted the Visigoths in Gaul. These successes were obtained under Theodimir, and greatly improved by his son Theodoric the Third. This prince who was at first so much attached to the emperor Zeno as to be the commander of his armies, afterwards broke with him, but was again reconciled. After a course of victories which alarmed the emperor of Constantinople, the Ostrogoth suffered himself to be appeased by the riches, lands, and honours, with which Zeno loaded him in the capital of his empire. In the interview which there took place between them, he persuaded Theodoric to turn his arms against Odoacer king of the Heruli, who, disdaining the title of emperor of Rome, had adopted that of king of Italy, and fixed his throne at Ravenna.

488.

Theodoric took his departure from Mœsia where he dwelt, accompanied by a vast number of fighting men, who took with them in chariots their wives, children, and effects. For want of shipping, they were obliged to coast the Adriatic.

A winter-journey, pestilence, and famine, made great havock amongst this multitude: but, fortunately for them, Odoacer in the first battle disputed but a short time that victory which opened the gates of Milan and Pavia to Theodoric. Yet many of his captains, gained over by the enemy, or discontented with their leader, abandoning him, he was obliged to remain shut up in Pavia, whilst Odoacer was in possession of the country, which he ravaged. Some reinforcements reached Theodoric, replaced the deserters, and enabled him in his turn to shut up Odoacer in Ravenna. The siege lasted three years, during which Theodoric became master of all Italy, and at length of Ravenna, which Odoacer is said to have yielded with the sole condition of his life being spared;—a condition that was not observed. Theodoric is accused of having killed his captive with his own hand, under pretence of a conspiracy being carried on against him by Odoacer. The conqueror left the people of Italy in possession of the Roman laws which they observed, and even their magistrates:—a policy by which his own power was secured.

VANDALS.

The name Vandals originates in a Gothic word signifying to wander. They were Goths by origin, and wanderers by habit. A moving nation has no annals, and it is only from the

Vandals,
215.

records of the people they have harassed that a memorial of their actions is to be obtained; hence it is, that what little can be known of the Vandals must be gathered from the Roman history. They were already formidable in the time of Caracalla, and attacked the empire with success under Aurelian, though he compelled them to retire. They carried their arms into Gaul, where they were conquered by the emperor Probus. They then fell on Greece, from whence they went even to Spain, and hence under the famous Genferic passed over into Africa, where for a while they fixed the throne of their power.

Genferic,
418.

This prince was summoned thither by the Roman governor Bonifacius, who when misrepresented and calumniated to the empress Placidia, being threatened with the loss of his government, called in the Vandals. When he was afterwards reconciled to her, he would have dismissed with presents his dangerous auxiliaries, but these were refused by Genferic, who continued to gain strength by the reduction of various strong places, and amongst the rest Carthage itself. This ancient rival of Rome was once more in a state to make its enemies tremble. Italy was alarmed by the news of the preparations made by Genferic. The fortifications and ramparts of the capital were strengthened as if the enemy were already at the gates, precautions which were rendered useless by the celerity of the Vandal mo-

narch. He entered Sicily and subdued it; landed in Italy, seized Rome, delivered it up to plunder, and took its royal family captive with him into Africa. Whatever had escaped the rapacity of his soldiers in the ancient territory of the Romans in their first irruption, was soon secured to them by a second. He enriched them also with the spoils of the Greek islands, which he visited and conquered: but he met with some reverses, and the battalions of Rome once more appeared before Carthage; when Genferic by a treaty saved his capital. He then recovered all his losses, and becoming more powerful than ever, compelled the emperor Zeno to give up all pretensions to Africa, which had been for four centuries a Roman province.

SUEVI.

In the time of Cæsar, the Suevi were known for the greatest and most warlike nation of Germany. Their situation is assigned between the Elbe and the Vistula. Their name is also derived from a word which signifies to lead a wandering life. They were governed by kings, and in their manners resembled the other Germans. No lights are to be collected of their history before the time of their encounters with the Romans. They submitted to Tiberius, who transported some thousands of them into Gaul; to others he assigned lands beyond the Danube:

Suevi,
A.D. 3.

one detachment was settled in Friseland. During three hundred years they alternately excited the dread, or supplied the succours, of the Roman armies : sometimes threatening or ravaging the provinces, and at others incorporated with the armies of the empire, repulsing under her standards those floods of barbarians which overflowed her frontiers.

430.

Whilst one of their very numerous tribes was nearly exterminated in Germany by Aetius, another, making its way into Spain, shared that country with the Vandals and Alans. Their king Rechila formed a kingdom of the country in the vicinity of the towns of Merida, Seville, and Carthagera, in which his son Recharius strengthened himself; but quarrelling with the Romans, and in vain advised by his father-in-law, Theodoric king of the Visigoths, not to engage in war, he was defeated and killed. A civil war arose amongst the Suevi concerning the crown, and their princes filled in rapid succession a throne stained by the violent death of many of them. Remismund having subdued the rivals who disputed the throne with him, held his court with splendor at Lisbon, and was respected by the kings of the Visigoths, then the most powerful in Spain. After his death they conquered his kingdom and attached it as a province to their own; by which ended the kingdom of the Suevi, after a duration of less than two

centuries. They were followers of the doctrines of Arius.

FRANKS.

We shall not deduce the Franks from Francus, son of Hector, who, after the taking of Troy, when Æneas settled in Italy with a part of its fugitive inhabitants, arrived with another part in Germany, and formed a nation there. The Franks probably originated from a mixture of many German nations, to whom, from their love of liberty, was given the name of Franks. Their first appearance in history is under the reign of Aurelian. Their abode was on the side of Mentz, on the borders of the Rhine, which river they often passed in quest of plunder. They were divided into several branches, the principal of which appears to have been that of the Salians. The first historian who makes mention of them represents them as a perfidious people, careless of their oath, addicted to lying, very civil toward strangers, extremely united, and very just amongst each other, but troublesome to those on whom they bordered; which made Egenhard, the chancellor of Charlemagne, remark: "I should very well like a Frank for my friend, but by no means for my neighbour."

Franks,
254.

The first expedition by which they became known was that of Probus against them. This prince drove them out of Gaul, where they had

282.

taken several towns, and from amongst the prisoners, of which he took a vast number, he formed whole battalions, which he incorporated in his army. The remainder he sent to the borders of the Euxine Sea, and gave them lands to till : but they who were accustomed to a wandering life could not accommodate themselves to a settled employment. They seized some vessels which they met with opportunely, made their way through the Bosphorus, ravaged the coasts in their passage, passed the Straits of Gibraltar, and entering the ocean returned to their country, and arrived loaded with booty at the mouth of the Rhine. Dioclesian and Maximian, exulting in having beaten the Franks, took the surname of *Francicus* : but the conquests of these emperors were not sufficiently decisive to prevent those people from disturbing their frontiers. Constantine by treating his prisoners with the utmost cruelty, thought to intimidate them. He caused a great number of them to be thrown to wild beasts, and amongst these two of their kings,—A barbarity which did not prevent them from returning to their incursions of Gaul, from which Constantine freed himself by the force of presents only.

353.

The kings of these people begun to be known. One of them, Malaric, enjoyed a high post in the court of the emperor Constantius, whilst his countrymen once more passed the Rhine, and

pillaged and burnt Cologne. The emperor sent against them Julian, since called the Apostate, who repulsed them from Rheims as far as which they had advanced. Under Gratian, another king, named Mallobaudes, was consul, count of the palace, and general of the Roman armies; yet the Franks continued their ravages in Gaul. They beat a Roman army who came to attack them, and that so completely, that the defeat was compared to that of Varus by the Germans. Three kings were then at the head of these people;—Genobald, Marcomir, and Sunno;—who, sometimes united, sometimes divided, made war or entered into treaty with the Romans.

By the success of their arms and negotiations, the Franks still advanced and gained strength in Gaul, where at length a king, named Pharamond, was established. He is supposed to have kept his court at Rheims; yet his power was not so well settled, but that it was sometimes shaken, and Clodio his son found his throne totter; but he propt it by his conquests, which he carried as far as the Somme, whilst they extended on the other side towards Treves and Cologne, on which he seized, Merovæus, who succeeded him, advanced as far as the Seine. He was one of the kings who, joining with Aetius, fought Attila in the plains of Catalaunum. From him the first race of the French kings received the name

of Merovingian. He was beloved and revered by his people as a father.

456.

We learn that his son and successor Childeric imitated his warlike exploits, since his power was respected as far as the Loire; but instead of rendering himself beloved like his father for his virtues, he is reproached with crimes which alienated from him the hearts of his people. They deposed him, and placed his sceptre in the hands of Ægidius, a Gaul by nation, and general of the Roman armies. Childeric, flattering himself that he had not lost the love of his subjects irretrievably, still wandered in the neighbouring states, waiting the event of his faithful friend Wiomald's endeavours, whom he had left with the intent to reconcile to him the minds of his people. At his departure he had cut a piece of gold in two, and taking one half gave the other to his friend, who was to send him the token whenever he might return to his country without danger. Childeric was in the court of Basinus, king of Thuringia, who had afforded him a refuge, when he received it. He instantly set off, and was welcomed to his kingdom with every demonstration of joy. This prince was soon followed by Basina, the wife of him who had so generously extended to him the rights of hospitality. She concealed neither from herself or him the motive which induced her to seek him: "I know," said she, "your useful qualifications, and if I knew any

“ prince preferable to you, I would cross even
“ the seas to be united to him.” Childeric,
flattered with a gallantry which was so much
more than a compliment, espoused her, and she
became the mother of Clovis.

On this prince's accession to the throne, either 432.
through the defection of his father's subjects,
who had not acknowledged him on his return,
or from some other cause, he found the king-
dom to which he succeeded confined between
the Waal, the towns of Tongres, Cambray,
the Scheldt, and the ocean. The first exploit
of Clovis was to take Soissons from the Ro-
mans, and Tongres from another tribe of Franks.
He espoused Clotilda, the niece of Gundebald
king of the Burgundians. This prince had
usurped the crown, and killed Childeric the
father of that princess. It was with regret he
found himself compelled to give his niece to a
young monarch capable of avenging the death
of her father; but Clovis was already too for-
midable to be refused. This marriage brought
on his conversion to the christian religion, which
his wife Clotilda professed.

By often conversing with her husband on the
doctrines of that religion, she led him to like them,
and to liking succeeded a conviction which broke
forth in a time of imminent danger. The Ger-
man soldiers attacked the Gauls. Clovis, accom-
panied by Sigebert king of the Ripuarian Franks,

hastened to meet them. A combat ensued at Tolbiacum, not far from Cologne. The battle was bloody, the barbarians gained ground, and from the confusion occasioned by Sigebert's being wounded, disorder was spreading amongst the Franks, when Clovis, thinking in this extremity on the god of Clotilda, vowed to embrace his religion and be baptized, if he would now grant him the victory. The conquerors instantly, as if struck by a divine impulse, took to flight. Clovis, faithful to his vow, sent for Remigius bishop of Rheims, who instructed and baptized him with three thousand of his principal subjects. Their example was followed by the greater part of the nation. It is worthy of remark, that Clovis was then the only catholic monarch. The emperor of the east, the kings of the Ostrogoths in Italy and of the Vandals in Spain and Africa, were arians, and the kings of the Franks and Burgundians in Gaul, all pagans.

The following incident is related as having happened when St. Remigius was preaching before her majesty. When treating on the passion of our Saviour, he came to the part where the insults offered him by the Jews is related: Clovis, rising, clapt his hand on his sword, and said: "Had I and my Franks been there, that had never happened."

After the battle of Tolbiacum, Clovis saw his empire enlarged by the accession of the Armoric

Franks, who had formed a republic between the Loire and the Seine, but to which they preferred a monarchical government under his sway. His profession of the catholic faith obtained him also the submission of the few remaining Romans in Gaul, who preferred obeying him to being governed by an arian prince. Several towns made capitulations with him, which he observed with the utmost exactness, leaving them in possession of their laws and magistrates. Thus the Roman laws were perpetuated in France, and the mixture of civilized inhabitants softened by degrees the savage ferocity of the Franks their conquerors.

507.

What Gundobald the uncle of Clotilda had feared came to pass. Clovis made war against him, and took from him a part of his kingdom, amongst other places Dijon. His victories embroiled him with Alaric king of the Visigoths, who could not see him approach his territory without uneasiness. These two princes held a conference in one of the islands of the Loire near Amboise ; and through fear, a reciprocal esteem for the great qualities of each other, or some other motives, swore friendship to each other. But it did not last: Alaric, who was a violent arian, persecuted some catholic bishops. Their complaints reached Clovis from Rouergne: " Let us not," said he to his Franks, " suffer the arians to possess any thing in Gaul." His army, animated by this motive, marched

against the Visigoths. Some miraculous circumstances attended the expedition. A hind, crossing the river Vienne in presence of the Franks, discovered a ford to Clovis; and a globe of fire, hovering over the church of St. Hilary at Poitiers, pointed out to him his way in the pursuit of Alaric. He met him in the plain of Vongle, about ten miles from Poitiers, and killed him with his own hand. He seized on the greater part of his kingdom, and, according to his usual policy, left the vanquished in possession of their customs and government. He does not ever appear to have persecuted the arians; but, convinced perhaps that a revolution can scarcely be consolidated without an arrangement in religion, he endeavoured to bring them over; and it appears, by the quick diminution of arianism in the southern parts of France, subjected to Clovis, that the zeal of his catholic bishops was not fruitlessly employed.

510.

On his return from this useful and brilliant expedition, Clovis received at Tours the insignia of a Roman consul; the mantle and tunic bordered with purple, with the other consular ornaments, which were sent him by the emperor Anastasius. He accepted with pleasure this mark of his favour, and to shew his sensibility to it, was invested with the habit in the church of St. Martin, whilst by distributing money amongst the people, he made it a day of festival for them.

He went from Tours to Paris, which latter city has ever since been the capital of the French monarchy, even when, in after-times, there were several kings. Paris was either reckoned their common capital, or he who resided in it was esteemed king of France in preference to the others.

It is to be lamented, that the great qualities of Clovis, his valour and military knowledge, his expert and conciliating policy, his unpersecuting zeal for religion, and the equity of his government, which brought several republics under his power, were all obscured at the end of his life by his many acts of cruelty; whence it appears that his conversion to christianity had but little contributed to soften his native fierceness. He was induced by ambition to commit crimes which can on no pretence be excused. After having extended his frontier, nothing remained toward forming a vast and lasting empire, but to get himself acknowledged king by those tribes of Franks by whom he found himself pressed, who had each their distinct prince or governor. He began therefore with Sigebert, who had shared his dangers, and secured his honours at Tolbiacum. Clovis secretly excited his son Chloderic against him, who assassinated his father, and soon suffered himself a like fate. On hearing this, the monarch of the Franks assembled his subjects in haste, and by declaring he had no part in

these murders, seemed to imply that suspicions were entertained against him. He was believed, or it was feigned that he was; and the Ripuarian Franks, whose territory extended from Fulda to Chalons-on-the-Marne, the chief town of which was Cologne, submitted to him.

Another petty king, named Chararic, governed a district extending from Boulogne to Ghent. Clovis, under pretence that Chararic had not joined him against the Romans, surprized him in an ambuscade; and no sooner had he him and his son in his power, than he ordered their long hair, the insignia of royalty amongst the Franks, to be cut off; causing the father to be ordained a priest, and the son a deacon, to incapacitate them for ever from the throne. The son of Chararic, on hearing his father lament their misfortunes, said to him: "By taking from us our dignity, and the marks attached to it, they have but plucked the leaves of a tree still green, which will soon shoot forth anew; and as our hair returns, may our enemy perish!" This expression reaching the ears of Clovis, he put both father and son to death, and seized on their treasures and states.

Ragnacharius king of Cambray still remained too near this stream that bore all before it not to be carried away by it. He is represented by historians as a dissolute prince, whose excesses had drawn on him the hatred of his subjects; and

they add that Clovis was called in by them. The petty monarch and his brother Richarius endeavoured to defend themselves, but were betrayed. They were surrounded by traitors, taken, and presented to Clovis laden with fetters. "How," said that monarch to the unfortunate Ragnacharius, "could you suffer such an insult to be offered to the blood from which you sprung as the putting you in the bonds you bear? you should have preferred death to such treatment." Then instantly, with a stroke of his axe on his head, he destroyed his prisoner. "And you," said he, addressing Richarius, "had you defended your brother as you ought, might have prevented the ignominy he suffered." A blow concluded this address also, and extended him dead at his feet. The traitors were rewarded with bracelets supposed to be of gold, but on discovering them to be only copper gilt, they complained to Clovis, who answered them: "Those who sell their masters deserve no better pay; and you may esteem yourselves highly fortunate, that after what has passed I allow you even to live."

These princes, and many others whom Clovis murdered at the close of his reign, were his relations. By these reiterated crimes, his authority became acknowledged throughout all the Gauls, but the success of them did not destroy the remorse which they occasioned. He was

heard to cry out: "Wretch that I am, I have
"lost all my relations, and remain a stranger in
"my own kingdom!" He died at forty-five
years of age. His queen Clotilda retired to Tours,
from whence she rarely came to Paris, and the
states of Clovis were divided amongst his four
sons:—Theoderic reigned at Metz; Clodomir at
Orleans; Clothaire at Soissons; and Childebert
at Paris. These princes were independent of
each other, as those of different divisions had
been before the time of Clovis. Thus the en-
deavours of that prince for forming an united
monarchy, ended only in dividing amongst his
immediate descendants what had been before in
the possession of his relations or allies.

BURGUNDIANS.

On the origin of the Burgundians there are a
variety of opinions. Some represent them as the
descendants of the Roman soldiers left by Drusus
Nero and other commanders encamped in Ger-
many to keep a check on the conquered nations.
Those who adopt this opinion represent them
as unwarlike, seeking an asylum in towns and
fortresses, and hawking through the Gauls the
effects of their ingenuity and industry. Such
could scarcely be the mode of life of a whole
people; and when we discover the Burgundians
to have been the allies or enemies of Rome
before they entered Gaul, with leaders whose

names are recorded, and dwelling in a fixed spot on the banks of the Danube, it is more natural to conclude that they early formed one of those isolated nations who, like the rest, had come from the north of Germany; or, according to a different opinion, were a collection of Goths, Vandals, and other barbarians, as they are called by the Roman historians.

Whatever was their origin, they became formidable under Tacitus by an irruption beyond the Rhine. Under the succeeding emperors they advanced or retired according to the opposition they experienced. When their own strength was not sufficient, they united to it that of the Suevi, Alans, and Vandals. After many attempts they arrived in Alsace, reached the mountains of Savoy and St. Claude, and at length fixed the seat of their government at Vienne in Dauphiny, from whence they extended it to Dijon and Macon, in the country since, from them, called Burgundy. We have seen that Clovis had assumed the crown usurped by Gundebald, the murderer of his brother and his male offspring, brothers to Clotilda. This prince is celebrated for his law on judiciary duelling; that is, by the conditions he imposed on those who were desirous of deciding their right by arms. So barbarous a practice was worthy of having an assassin for its regulator.

Sigismund, his son and successor, had the weak-

ness and misfortune to give credit to the calumnies of his second wife, by which she accused Sigeric, his son by a former marriage, of a design upon his throne and life. But scarcely had he expired before Sigismund, in an agony of repentance and despair, threw himself on the dead body of his son, tenderly embracing and wetting it with his tears. An old attendant seeing him in this situation, said : " Weep not for him, Sigeric died innocent ; it is for yourself you should reserve your tears." His remorse embittered the remainder of his life ; and this action brought on him a war on the part of Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths, Sigeric's uncle ; to which was added another instigated by Clotilda, who engaged her sons to avenge on Sigismund the death of her father and brothers, whom Gundobald had caused to be thrown into a well. Sigismund was discovered and taken in the disguise of a monk, and his whole family fell into the hands of Clodomir king of Orleans ; who, in return for the treatment which the father and brothers of his mother had experienced, had them thrown into a well. A war then ensued between the Franks and Burgundians, to which peace succeeded. Another war followed, the chance of which threw Gondemar, the king of the Burgundians, into the power of Childebert and Clothaire, of which they took their advantage. The Burgundians being now without a

head, entered into treaty with the Franks ; and, on condition of being governed by their own laws, submitted to pay tribute : the privilege was granted and preserved to them during the reigns of the whole Merovingian race.

GERMANS, OR ALLEMANNI.

The Allemanni dwelt between the Danube, the upper Rhine, and the Mein. The nation originated from the Suevi, to which were added many Gauls, and other families of different nations; which intermixture is expressed by the German word All-Mann, from which they take their name. They were passionate lovers of liberty, and a number of their women under Caracalla hung themselves to escape slavery. This prince was so much attached to the Allemanni, as to choose his guard from amongst them : he took pleasure in dressing after their manner, and wearing false hair of the colour of theirs. By Maximinus they were treated with harshness, and confined within their boundary, which under Valentinian they passed, and penetrating on the one side into Gaul, and on the other into Italy; they were repulsed by Aurelian, and asked permission only to return to their homes. He shut up their way thither ; but experienced what despair can produce ; for the Germans surprized and defeated him, which he soon revenged by a terrible massacre of them. They seemed to spring up anew from every de-

214.

feat. Constantius Chlorus, and the emperors Constantine and Julian, in different battles, killed a multitude whose amount is shocking to relate. Continually repulsed, and continually appearing, they became known wherever they could make their way. Several considerable parties of them settled in the mountains of
 477. Swisserland, the valleys of Jura, and round the lake of Geneva, whilst the greater part of the nation perished in the battle of Tolbiacum, where their last king was killed.

GEPIDÆ.

245. The Gepidæ, originally Goths and Vandals, came from the lake Mæotis bordering on the mouth of the Danube. They encountered the Burgundians of Italy and the Lombards, and were one of those nations whom Attila drew along with him in his expeditions. After being
 353. subdued by the Huns, they recovered their freedom, and made head against the Lombards even when that people was most powerful; but at length they fell, having experienced so many reverses that they became confounded with their conquerors and disappeared.

HERULI.

Heruli, 217. From the lake Mæotis the Heruli sent one party beyond the Danube; another ravaged Greece, and having reduced Athens, Sparta, and

Argos to ashes, penetrated into Asia. They were a lively and active nation, and the Romans recruited their light troops from them. They entreated the infirm and old to die voluntarily, or else they compelled them so to do. The wife was dishonoured who did not strangle herself on the corpse of her husband. They bear the reproach of vices the most degradatory and contrary to nature, and of offering human victims. They carried fire and sword into Epirus, Thrace, all the islands of the Archipelago, and from the Nessus even to the Rhine. Justinian drove them out of Italy, and they became lost in the people amongst which they were dispersed; yet, like unwholesome waters, they for a long time left a pestilential sediment in the channels through which they had flowed.

MARCOMANNI.

The Marcomanni at first appeared on the banks of the Danube: Cæsar supposed them to be descended from the Gauls. They were introduced by their king Merobodrus to the country occupied by the Boii, which has been named Bohemia. They were one of the first people of Germany who exhibited any signs of civilization; since they made use of the letters denominated Runic; and, by their exploits against the empire, evinced that they were not ignorant of military discipline. Domitian was obliged to

63.

396.

purchase peace from them. They had the policy to form leagues with the neighbouring nations and to lead them against the empire, by which they became very formidable to it. Their plunders continued till the time when their queen Fritigil, having embraced the christian religion, softened the ferocity of their manners. They then remained settled in Bohemia, which they had chosen for their abode.

QUADI.

120.

The Quadi were situated on the borders of the Marcomanni in Moravia. Their wars against the empire were frequent. Commodus made a peace with them, under condition that they should not advance nearer than within two leagues of the Danube; that they should hold their general assemblies but once a month; and deliver up their arms: yet Probus and his successors found them well armed, and fighting obstinately though frequently beaten. They at length were mingled and confounded with the Gauls. Notwithstanding the booty taken by all these barbarous nations, they do not appear to have been any richer or better able to adorn themselves. Valentinian seeing the ambassadors of the Quadi in a state little removed from raggedness, thought it was meant to insult him: but they told him they were the chief people of their nation. It is therefore not to be wondered at if the emperors sometimes treated these barbarian chiefs, who were called

kings, with the utmost contempt; which they carried even to having them hanged or thrown to the wild beasts in the circus. They looked on them either as robbers, or as men employed by them for pay.

SARMATIANS.

Many of these barbarians compelled the haughty Romans to conceive an advantageous opinion of them. Amongst these were the Sarmatians, or Sauromatians, who are supposed to have originated in the vast extent of country now included in Poland, a part of Russia, and Tartary. They were divided into various tribes, which had each its king. The same depravity and vices are attributed to them as to the Heruli; and they are said to have also been anthropophagi. But practices so detestable must doubtless have been confined to a small part of this immense people. They began to be known and feared by the Romans under Nero. Their love of plunder soon increased and prolonged their irruptions into the empire, where they met with the Goths, who defended its barriers against them. On the borders of the Marisus in Dacia, a celebrated battle took place between these two nations, which proved very disastrous to the Sarmatians. They lost in it their king Wisimar, and the flower of their nobility. In this extremity they armed their slaves, who

uniting against their masters, they drove them out of their country. Constantius aided them to subdue these rebels, and restored the Sarmatians to their homes, though not till after an exile of twenty-four years, during which time many things had doubtless taken place with respect to their wives not very agreeable to those who returned. As there were many tribes of these people, there is no certainty that those who were exposed to this humiliating exile were the ancestors of the Poles and Tartars of the present day.

460.

DACIANS.

Dacia consisted of the present Moldavia, Wallachia, and a part of Transylvania. The inhabitants of this tract, known under the name of Dacians or Daci, were originally Scythians, and degenerated in nothing from the valour of their ancestors. Sober, robust, with a capacity of encountering all the fatigues of war, they had the still further advantage of looking on death as the commencement of a happier life. From this persuasion, they exposed themselves to the greatest dangers with the same tranquillity as if they were only undertaking a journey. They received this doctrine from Zamolxis, a philosopher highly celebrated amongst them, who is supposed to have been their king. Of another of their kings, Orolus, it is related, that being displeased with his subjects, who had not shewn

their usual courage in battle, he ordered that, till by some signal exploit they had redeemed their honour, they should all lay down to rest with their heads where their feet usually lay. A singularity which we only quote to shew, that a thread will sometimes serve to lead men more effectually than a cable.

From the time of Augustus to the thirteenth century the Dacians were the scourge of the Roman empire, and committed the most dreadful cruelties. It is fit to remark, that one of their kings, named Duras, not thinking himself possessed of sufficient abilities to oppose Domitian, who was leading a numerous army against him, voluntarily yielded his throne to Decebalus. The new king answered the expectations of his predecessor. Equally skilled in politics and war, when pressed he sued for peace before he was too much enfeebled to have it refused, and at a more fortunate moment resumed the war. By this management he reduced the empire to pay him a tribute, under the title of a pension. Trajan emancipated himself from this disgraceful stipulation, and subdued Decebalus, one of the most dangerous enemies Rome ever had. The Dacian king killed himself to avoid gracing the triumph of his conqueror, and his kingdom became a Roman province. The Goths afterwards possessed it, when it was called ancient Dacia. The Romans, on quitting it,

transported the remains of the Dacians into Bulgaria and Servia, which have been sometimes called New Dacia.

BULGARIANS.

The Bulgarians always have possessed, and still retain, a peculiar language, called the Sclavonian, or Slavonian, greatly differing from that of the other German nations; from whence it is conjectured, with probability, that if they, like the other Germans, derive their origin from the Scythians, it is from those Scythians who in their first emigration took the road toward Asia. They anciently dwelt on the banks of the Volga, at the north-western part of the Caspian Sea: hence their country was called Volgaria, they themselves Volgari; and from thence, by an easy transition, Bulgaria and Bulgari, or Bulgarians.

520.

The period of their leaving this country is not precisely known, but it was toward the time of the emperor Anastasius that their irruption into Thrace and Macedonia took place. It was then they formed an establishment in the territory bounded by the Black Sea, Romania, Macedonia, and Servia. This was the centre from which during more than five hundred years, they sallied at all points against every part of the Greek empire within their reach. Not contented with perpetually harassing this falling state in their

immediate neighbourhood, they proceeded to attack it even in Germany, far beyond the Danube; and in Italy itself seized and secured the duchy of Benevento. The throne of Constantinople, whether possessed by Greeks or Latins, still found them their most inveterate and perpetual enemies. The resources of these people seem wonderful; for when conquered, and almost destroyed, after being pursued with carriage into their own country, they again appeared, in a short time after, under the walls of Constantinople itself.

Constantine Copronymus gained a great victory over them, which cost him not a single man. Their king, Elerick, astonished at so singular a circumstance, doubted not but he had been betrayed: the whole difficulty was to discover the traitors. The king, after an interval of some time, wrote to the emperor that he proposed to resign his crown, and lead a private life at Constantinople; he therefore required a safe conduct, and that he would send him the name of those Bulgarians to whom he might intrust the discovery of his design, and by whom he might be escorted. Constantine complied with his request in both instances, by which means Elerick learning who were the persons who maintained a correspondence with the empire, put them all to death. Constantine made preparations to take vengeance for this duplicity; which gave rise to new wars.

922.

For war neither side ever wanted a pretence. Whenever any other enemy attacked an emperor, he was sure of being harassed by the Bulgarians; and whenever the latter were weakened by misfortunes, pestilence, or famine, the Romans never failed to fill up the measure of their miseries. Yet these enemies sometimes acted in conjunction; and battalions of Bulgarians were seen in the imperial armies destined to act against other nations. One of their kings, named Simeon, profiting by the intestine divisions in the court of Constantinople, laid siege to the city; and it was only by expostulations and presents that the emperor prevailed on him to sign a treaty and return home.

971.

These people, whilst in a state of glory and prosperity, beheld themselves attacked by a horde of Russians, who spread over their territory. The Romans, on this occasion, dreading, no doubt, that the inundation might reach themselves, assisted the Bulgarians to stop its devastations. From thence ensued a state of anarchy in the government, then under four brothers, who were on indifferent terms with each other; till at length, the whole authority falling into the hands of Samuel, a warlike prince, he employed it to harass the Greek empire once more. Basil, who then filled the throne, revenged these attacks by an act, the atrocity of which is unparalleled in history; and which, though it has been already

mentioned, we shall repeat. Having taken fifteen thousand prisoners, he caused all their eyes to be put out, assigning only to each hundred a guide, to whom he had left one eye. In this state he sent them to Samuel, who was so affected by a sight so shocking, as to expire with grief two days afterwards.

Basil pursued the Bulgarians, allowing them no respite. He defeated them in various battles, took several of their fortresses, and their king was killed in an assault. Discouraged by such repeated losses, the Bulgarian nobles were compelled to yield. They submitted to Basil, and delivered all their forts into his hands. The queen herself, surrounded with three of her sons and six daughters, renounced whatever right she possessed to the throne of Bulgaria. She had besides three other sons, who had retreated to inaccessible places; where Basil so completely blockaded them, that they were compelled to surrender. He received them generously, and allotted to each some distinguished post in his court or in his armies. To the mother and her daughters, whom he always treated with respect, he allowed pensions suitable to their rank.

Some attempts were afterwards made by the Bulgarians, either by malcontents or impostors, who pretending to be descended from the royal blood, raised commotions against the people.

1019.

1206.

Amidst these convulsions, which lasted more than a century, the Bulgarian empire gained so much strength as to enter into an advantageous contest with that of Constantinople. John, king of Bulgaria, having defeated Baldwin, the first Latin emperor, before Adrianople, led him captive, and caused his hands and feet to be cut off. Thus mutilated, he was thrown into a valley, where he suffered the extremest misery for three days before he expired, eaten by birds of prey and beasts of the field. In 1225, Bulgaria was brought under subjection by Stephen king of Hungary, from which time the kings of Hungary have assumed the title of kings of Bulgaria, which, with Hungary itself, has passed to the princes of the House of Austria; though the power really remains with the Turks, who have been in possession of Bulgaria ever since 1396.

OSTROGOTHS.

490.

The emperor Zeno, when unable to retain Italy, preferred, as we have shewn, placing on its throne Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths, rather than Odoacer king of the Heruli. He directed in a manner the victories of Theodoric, and gave him advice, by following of which the prince became a blessing to his new subjects. Never did the change of a prince cause less change in a government. The same magi-

trates remained, the same imposts were levied. Rewards and privileges were, it is true, bestowed on those who had favoured the revolution, but no punishments inflicted on such as were adverse to it. If this moderation was partly the result of policy, yet it must also be partly attributed to the character of the new monarch. When he assumed the crown, he had sworn that his conduct should be such that the Italians should only repent they had not sooner submitted to the Goths. He kept his word, and the administration of justice was committed to the most able and upright men. Theodoric sometimes attended the pleadings, and passed judgment himself. He revised the collection of imposts; and complainants were sure to be gainers by his examination. He shewed the utmost respect for religion, and did honour to his faith by the practice of temperance, chastity, and the other christian virtues, of which he never lost sight. He preserved peace in the church, and banished simony from its elections. Ecclesiastical affairs were never better regulated than under this prince. All these praises are bestowed on him by the catholic writers, though he was an arian. He is likewise applauded for exactness in repairing the damages done by his troops when marching, and paying for every thing taken for the service of the armies and camps. To this is added, his charity to the poor, particularly widows and orphans, and his generosity in redeeming

as many of his subjects as he possibly could from captivity amongst barbarous nations.

Amongst the remarkable circumstances of the life of Theodoric should be reckoned his journey to Rome, whither he was called by two rivals, who disputed the see of the capital of the world. Their pretensions had kindled a civil war, which he flattered himself he should appease, by deciding in favour of Symmachus, who was first elected; but the partizans of Laurentius not having submitted to his award, he convoked a council, and made use of this opportunity to satisfy the desire he had long entertained of seeing this renowned city. He was received there with the greatest pomp; assisted in the senate, and shewed the utmost deference to the members of this illustrious body. His curiosity induced him to visit every thing remarkable, and he acknowledged that it was satisfied beyond his expectation; he declared he should have fixed his abode in Rome in preference to Ravenna, if necessity had not detained him in the latter, which was more in the centre of his empire.

Boetius.

Theodoric was addressed in the senate by Boetius, a descendant of the Manlii. This patrician had studied at Athens, and embraced the sect of the peripatetics, which he made known by the translating of Aristotle, with a commentary. The world was also indebted to him for translations of several Greek writers—Pythagoras, Euclid, Plato—and some

works on theology against Eutyches and Nestorius. Boetius had passed through all offices with general applause, and enjoyed a spotless reputation honourably acquired. By Theodoric he was esteemed, employed, and trusted in affairs of moment; yet he unfortunately gave credit to the accusations of those who, from envy, accused him of holding a secret correspondence with the emperor of Constantinople, and a design of withdrawing Rome from under the dominions of the Ostrogoths, to put it under that of the Greeks. Theodoric, without enquiring into the ground of these imputations, caused Boetius, and his father-in-law Symmachus, who was included in the accusation, to be put under arrest; and with equal precipitation they were both beheaded.

This unjust and cruel act was no sooner committed, than Theodoric was seized with the most bitter repentance. The remembrance of those he had unjustly condemned pursued him every-where; and a short time afterwards, the head of a large fish being served up at his table, he fancied it the head of Symmachus, who cast on him a menacing look. Struck with horror, he rose from table, and survived but a few days the dreadful recollection. This was the first and last cause of complaint he ever gave. He had three daughters by a sister of Clovis: the one, married to Sigismund king of the Burgundians, became the mother of Sigeric. The second married to Alaric the Second, king of the Visi-

goths, by whom she had Amalaric, whose grandfather Theodoric governed his states as an able guardian, and restored them to him like a faithful trustee. The third, named Amalasuntha, though not destined to a crowned head, was, perhaps, happier in espousing Eutharic, a prince of her own blood, a young man generally beloved and esteemed; but he died before his father-in-law, leaving only one son, Athalaric, eight years old, whom the king of the Ostrogoths at his death declared his heir, under the guardianship of his mother.

Amalasun-
tha.

The piety, goodness, and wisdom of Amalasuntha have been highly praised by all historians. In a letter, addressed to the Roman senate, she is called, *the glory of princes, the flower and ornament of her family, the Solomon of her sex*. She is represented as having been well versed in Greek literature, as well as acquainted with various languages. This taste, too much displayed, and perhaps too much favoured, gave disgust to her Ostrogoth nobility, less versed in letters than war. They were displeased at her educating the young prince after the Roman manner;—an education which, said they, becomes not the chief of an active and warlike nation. They adding, that Theodoric, who passed not his youth in that manner, was yet not less endowed with virtues and accomplishments; whence they concluded that his grand-son, to resemble him, should lead a youth like his. In consequence of this idea, they

entreated Amalasentha to dismiss the pedants by whom her son was surrounded, and give him companions of his own age. As the request was made in a manner which did not admit of refusal, she yielded; and the young prince, having no longer any check on his passions, gave himself up to excesses, fell sick, and died in the flower of his age, without leaving any posterity.

Amalasuntha had to struggle with the faction of the Ostrogoth nobility, who had deprived her of the education of her son. Whilst she governed in that prince's name, she had punished them. But the exile and death of the three principal of them had only increased the hatred of the rest; and she now found herself unable to resist alone their desire of revenge. Flattering herself she should find in one of her cousins, named Theodotus, the qualities necessary to support her against her enemies, and above all, an inviolable gratitude to her, she associated him to the throne, declaring him king, and her colleague; not doubting but he would leave her the greatest part of that authority, of which she was willing to allow him a share: but in this expectation she was disappointed. Theodotus wanted the whole power, and joining with the enemies of the princess, had her put under arrest, and transported to an island, in the midst of a lake, where she was strangled, whilst in the bath, by some friends of those whom she had exiled:—a crime which was perpetrated with the consent, perhaps by the orders, of the un-

grateful Theodotus. This princess, who may be reckoned the victim of literature and knowledge, took every means for propagating science throughout her kingdom, where she maintained schools; and on hearing that the professors of those at Rome were not paid with exactness, she wrote thus to the senate: "The arts are nourished and supported by rewards. It is shocking to deprive those who have the care of instructing our youth of their salaries: we should rather encourage them to the performance of this duty by an increase of their pay."

Justinian, who had kept up an intercourse with this princess, undertook to avenge her death. He declared war against the Ostrogoths, against whom he sent his general Belisarius. Theodotus, who had courage enough to be an assassin, but not a warrior, made an offer to the emperor to abdicate his royalty, and relinquish the crown into his hands. On some advantages, however, gained by his subjects without his concurrence, he retracted his offer. That which he refused to do on this ray of hope, the Ostrogoths now compelled him to. They drove him from a throne of which he was unworthy, and placed on it Vitiges, not elevated by birth, but capable of supporting it by his talents. He had one continual struggle with Belisarius, and Narfes, a general of no less ability than the former, who was sent to second him. Those talents which, if united against him, might have ruined Vitiges,

became useless by the rivalry and continual contradiction which subsisted between their possessors.

Belisarius soon became master of Rome, to which ^{537.} Vitiges laid siege. The general had to fight not only with the enemy without, but the Romans within, who were offended that their city should be made the seat of war, and who to avoid it would have willingly yielded to the first who offered. The siege lasted a year, during which time the Romans, who took but little interest in the dispute, suffered all the horrors of pestilence and famine. The Goths, at length, compelled to retire by the succours which arrived to join Belisarius, directed their fury against Milan, in which the generals of the empire had placed a strong garrison; but which did not prevent this unfortunate town from being taken. The conquerors, who had a considerable body of Burgundians in their pay, razed the city to the foundations, put to the sword every one of the inhabitants capable of bearing arms, to the number of thirty thousand, and gave their wives to the Burgundians. Such were the wars of those days!

Vitiges employed all his resources to excite some ^{540.} useful diversions. He excited Chosroes, king of Persia, against the empire, and called in the Franks also to his assistance: but the latter means did not succeed. That people, when they had once entered Italy, fell equally on both parties, and pillaging them alike, returned laden with booty. After various

contests, in which the loss constantly outweighed the advantages, Vitiges was shut up in Ravenna his capital. He wrote to the emperor, from whom he obtained moderate conditions; but Belisarius thinking them too favourable, refused to sign them. The Ostrogoth nobility, tired of the war, resorted to another expedient—that of offering the crown to Belisarius: to which singular step Vitiges also consented. The general entered the town, seized on all the treasures, received the king and his family under his protection, and disdaining a throne, which he probably saw to be very unstable, set off with his prisoners for Constantinople, having been recalled by order of the emperor to oppose the Persians.

Totila, 457.

In this great man appears to have consisted the principal strength of his army; for when it entered into Ravenna it appeared so inconsiderable, that the wives of the Goths did not abstain from spitting in the faces of their husbands, and reproaching them for their cowardice. The Greek general having left the government in confusion, the Goths set up two kings in the course of a year, who were both murdered, and found a third in the person of Totila, nephew to the last of these unfortunate monarchs. A reign of eleven years was to him a war of equal duration. Far from having contracted that ferociousness of character which a habit of carnage induces, few monarchs have been

so humane as Totila, even with respect to his enemies. When after a long siege he at length became master of Naples, fearing that the inhabitants, who had suffered the most dreadful extremes of famine, might, from excessive hunger, swallow their food too eagerly, he placed guards at the gates to prevent any one from going out, and took care that victuals was only moderately provided, augmenting the quantity from day to day. When by this benevolent attention the Neapolitans had recovered their strength, Totila removed the guards, and allowed them to depart whither they pleased.

The Romans, in a similar circumstance, obtained from him a diminution of their misery, and felt the infliction of a lesser evil as a benefit. Rome was blockaded by him, and the famine was so great, that after having exhausted every kind of eatable, the food even of the cattle, and the grass growing in their streets and ramparts, the inhabitants entreated their governor Bessas, put in by the Greek emperor, either to provide them with food, suffer them to quit the town, or kill them in it. But Bessas quietly answered: "Food I have none; there will be no security in suffering you to go; and to kill you would be impiety." Belisarius, who was sent into Italy to endeavour to retrieve affairs from this state of confusion, strove in vain to raise the blockade, which would have lasted longer than it did, had not four Isaurian soldiers opened the gates to Totila. In the first emotion of anger,

he threatened to put all the inhabitants to the sword, to punish them for having deserted his banner, and displayed that of the Greeks; but on the petition of a deacon, named Pelagius, he granted the Romans their lives, and forbade his soldiers to put any one to death; but allowed them to plunder. This they so completely fulfilled, that nothing remained but the walls of the houses; and women of the first distinction were reduced to beg their bread.

Totila had flattered himself that by the possession of Rome, he should have made advantageous conditions with Justinian; and on finding this expectation frustrated, determined on destroying it to its foundations. Belisarius, being informed of this intent, wrote to him to dissuade him; and after expatiating on the greatness and majesty of this ancient city, whose magnificence was the work of so many ages, he added: "He who should destroy it
" would be looked on as an enemy of the human
" race, since he would abolish the monuments of the
" valour and virtues of the greatest men. Should
" you remain victorious, you could never forgive
" yourself for having razed the noblest town of
" your state, if we say not of the whole earth. If,
" on the contrary, fortune should prove unfavour-
" able to you, the conqueror will consider himself
" obliged to you for the preservation of a place of
" such importance; whereas its destruction could
" only expose you to the effects of his resent-
" ment." These arguments had their effect on

Totila. He chose a middle course, and caused about a third part of its walls to be broken down, by making breaches at set distances. But he withdrew from it the senate, the citizens, women, and children, whom he dispersed at twenty leagues round, and left it not a single inhabitant.

According to the manners of the present day, it 550.
is not easy to conceive how a city, containing three or four hundred thousand souls, should be so perfectly emptied, that on the return of Belisarius to it, a few days after, he found absolutely no one person in it. He employed his army in cleansing the ditches, and filling up the breaches in the walls. The inhabitants returned in crowds, and each recognized his own house, which Belisarius restored to him. Totila, informed of its repopulation, hastened thither, but finding it already in a state of defence soon retired. The vicissitudes of a very changeable war placed him once more in condition to appear before Rome, which was a second time delivered to him by some Isaurian soldiers. Far from attempting to destroy, he then applied himself to embellishing it, recalled the senate, and restored its ancient dignity to this august assembly. He bestowed on the citizens such of their property as they could discover; and, after the manner of the ancient emperors, gave the grand games of the circus, at which he presided in person. This difference of conduct in Totila was occasioned by an answer he had received from the king of the Franks,

whose daughter he had demanded in marriage. "My daughter," he had said, "will espouse none but a king; and I cannot reckon as such a prince who has not been able to preserve his capital, but was obliged to demolish a part of it, and abandon the remainder to the enemy." This answer would have been still more grating, had Totila, neglectful of the advice of Belisarius, rendered the restoration of his capital impossible.

The absence of this general from Italy, who had been recalled to make head once more against the Persians, facilitated the conquest of Sicily by Totila; and Justinian, justly alarmed by his progress, and finding he must either subdue him or give up all authority over Italy, raised a formidable army, which he sent against him under the command of Narses. Totila and he watched each other, and reciprocally judged that the apparent preparations for attack or retreat were far from indicating their real intentions. At length Narses was most fortunate in his conjectures, and observing that Totila had given orders to his soldiers, when drawn up in order of battle, to retire and take their repast, as if they were not to fight that day, the discerning general concluded he was on the point of being attacked; and he was not mistaken. The action was sanguinary, and disputed on both sides for many hours with equal obstinacy. The Gothic cavalry being broken, threw the infantry into confusion; the latter fled, and hurried the king, who was severely wounded, along

with them, who died on dressing his wound. The cotemporary historians, both Romans and Goths, bestow the highest praises on the courage, humanity, temperance, moderation, and above all the justice of this prince, who conducted himself to all his subjects, of whatever nation, like a father to his children. They particularly expatiate on his moderation and clemency to the vanquished. In all the towns he took, he paid the greatest attention to the honour of the women; and in spite of the entreaties of his whole army condemned one of his bravest officers to death, for having failed in this attention to the daughter of a Roman, in Calabria, and confiscated all his property to the use of the injured woman.

The death of Totila involved his kingdom in ⁵⁵³ the greatest confusion, though Teia, who was raised to be his successor, was one of the bravest men of his nation. But if he resembled Totila in valour, he was far unlike him in justice and humanity. On hearing that Rome had surrendered to Narses, he, in revenge, put all the Romans he could lay hands on to death; not sparing the women, and even children, of senators, to the number of three hundred. These murders were requited by reprisals, and the war between the two nations became more cruel than it had ever been. Teia acted with the desperation of a man impatient to conquer or die. The Greeks, whose forces were more numerous than his, besieged him on a mountain, to which

they had compelled him to retreat with his army. The place was attacked as by assault, and Teia defended himself as at a breach. He placed himself in the first rank to encourage his soldiers by his example. Those of Narfes recognized him, and knowing that his death would end the combat, and most probably the war, directed all their attempts against him; some attacked him with their pikes, others with their darts, which he received on his shield without ever retiring a single step. When his shield became so loaded with darts that he could no longer support it, he called for another; but in the moment employed for changing it for the third time, he received in his unguarded breast a javelin, and fell on the same spot where he had planted himself in the beginning of the action, yielding his last breath on a heap of enemies who had fallen by his hand.

The Ostrogoths, though extremely discouraged by his death, continued the fight, and renewed it the next day till the approach of night. On the third day they sent deputies to Narfes, who granted them all they demanded; and in consequence of the capitulation, those who preferred remaining in Italy had permission so to do, with the enjoyment of their property, and the privileges of Romans. Those who chose to return to their homes took their furniture and effects, and retired whither they would, on the promise of never more bearing arms against the Romans. Thus ended the empire of the Os-

trogoths, which lasted only sixty-four years from its foundation by Theodoric. Narfes for fifteen years governed Italy greatly to the satisfaction of its inhabitants; and was, to their infinite regret, recalled from it by a court intrigue. On his departure began the government of the Lombards, which succeeded to that of the Ostrogoths.

LOMBARDS.

The nation of the Lombards originated from a dispute amongst the Gepidæ, inhabiting the northern banks of the Danube. A civil dissension caused the division of these people, some of whom distinguished themselves from the rest by the length of their beards; and hence their appellation Longobarbs, and Lombards, under which denomination they settled in Pannonia. They shaved the back of their heads, but let the hair grow on the front and temples, probably to keep company with their beards, from amongst which their faces could not appear to great advantage. They had several wars, both with their neighbours and the empire; the most obstinate of which seems, as is commonly the case, to have been between them and their ancient relatives the Gepidæ. Alboin, the son of their king Audoin, killed with his own hand in battle Thorismond, the son of Thurisind, king of the Gepidæ: after which he demanded to be admitted to his father's table;—an honour amongst the Lombards equivalent to a military triumph with the Romans.

But whoever expected this favour must appear in the armour of the enemy he had conquered. "Where," said the severe Audoin to his son, "where is the armor of Thorismond?" No more was requisite to induce the young hero to set off, accompanied with forty brave companions: he arrived at the court of Thurisind, and demanded the spurs of his son. The monarch, struck by his intrepidity, bestowed them on him; and he returned to take that place at the royal banquet which he had by a double right acquired.

553.

The same Alboin, when on the throne, killed with his own hand Cunismond, king of the Gepidæ, and caused a cup to be made of the unfortunate monarch's skull, which he used in his public festivals. He espoused Rosamunda, the daughter of this prince, who had fallen with other captives into his hands. He had so far recommended himself to the esteem of Narses, that he fixed on him to avenge the injury he had received from the second Justinian, in his recalling him from Italy, where this great man had rendered the most signal service to the empire. His detractors, at the head of which was the empress Sophia, accused him of aspiring to the sovereignty. "I will employ him," said that princess, imprudently, "to distribute the wool to my women to spin."—"And I," replied the old eunuch, "will provide her with a web, which I defy her ever to unravel." Narses, in reality, before he left Italy, communicated and explained to his friend

Alboin the means of maintaining himself there. These he made use of with dexterity, without experiencing much obstruction on the part of Longinus, the successor of Narfes. He had changed the government of the Goths, which his predecessor had preserved; and instead of Roman magistrates, Longinus had placed a duke in each town, in whose hands the civil and military power were united, without excepting even Rome from this general law, whose senate he suppressed, and who had also its duke. He himself took the title of exarch, adopted or imitated from the ecclesiastic government, and answering to metropolitan: that is, he reserved to himself an inspection into, and jurisdiction over, the conduct of these dukes, whom he deposed at his pleasure. Longinus fixed his abode at Ravenna, in which he was imitated by his successors; from whence arose their title of exarchs of Ravenna.

In the course of three years, Alboin firmly established the Lombard throne, in that part of Italy since called Lombardy. He fixed on Pavia as his capital, and left garrisons of Lombards in each of the numerous towns and territories that surrendered to him, proportionate to their size; these were under the government of an officer whom he honoured with the title of duke; which title they retained only so long as the prince thought proper to confide to them the government. There were thirty-six of these dukes, when Alboin was preci-

pitated to the tomb by a tragical end of his own bringing on.

This monarch, in a great festival given to his favourites, at which his queen was present, ordering his cup of state to be filled with wine, presented to Rosamund her father's skull, with order to drink from it. At the horrid proposal she hastily quitted the table, and from that moment determined on revenge. For this purpose, she addressed a young officer, named Helmichild; but he refused her request, till the queen gaining information of an intrigue he carried on with one of her ladies, one night took her place, and making herself known in the morning, convinced Helmichild there was no retreating, and that his safety depended on the death of the monarch. Upon this he engaged some assassins, who suddenly attacked Alboin whilst sleeping in his chamber after dinner. The king endeavoured to draw his sword and defend himself, but Rosamund had secured it in the scabbard; he warding the blows for a short time with a stool, till overcome by numbers he fell dead at their feet.

Rosamund, besides her hand, had promised the Lombard throne to the murderer; but insurmountable difficulties attended the performance of this latter promise. The new-married pair were compelled to fly to escape the rage of the Lombards; and took refuge at Rome under the exarch Longinus. The exarch imagining that a union with Rosamund, added to the wealth she had brought with her,

might conduce to his being acknowledged king of the Lombards, engaged her to free herself from her present husband. Equally cruel and ambitious, she, with her own hand, presented the poisoned cup to Helmichild on his leaving the bath. He had scarcely swallowed half of it before its effects became sensible, when instantly seizing his sword, he held it to the throat of his perfidious wife, and compelled her to swallow the remainder, and they both expired victims of ambition and treachery in the most dreadful tortures.

The Lombards elected Clephis, a man of high distinction amongst them, king. He was warlike, and pursued his conquests as far as Rome; but his unrelenting harshness equally disgusted the Italians whom he had subdued, and his own Lombard subjects. Some of both nations joined in a plot to assassinate both him and his wife Messana. The dukes, once more delivered from the authority of a superior, thought it no longer necessary to provide themselves with a master, but each enjoyed absolute power in his own duchy.

Notwithstanding this division of power, by which ⁵⁸⁵ its strength was lessened, the Lombard kingdom was still aggrandized at the expence of the empire—each duke extending his territory as much as possible. The progress they made determined the emperor Maximus to adopt serious measures for the preservation of what he had remaining in Italy.

Besides levying a vast army, he, by a considerable sum of money, induced Childebert, king of the Franks, to second his endeavours. When intelligence of these preparations reached the Lombards, concluding they should be unable to resist them without a chief, they elected Autharis, the son of Clephis, and placed him on the throne of his father.

Autharis.

After having signalized his valour by some military exploits, this prince evinced his prudence by his regulations in government. He was sensible that, accustomed as the dukes had been to authority, it would be difficult to bring them wholly under subjection, wherefore he engaged to maintain them and their children in the government, unless they became liable to be deposed by rebellion, a treachery which was denominated felony. He received from them an oath to assist him with all their forces in time of war, and to pay the half of their revenues for the maintenance of his regal dignity. The rest they were allowed to dispose of as they pleased. Such was the first law of fiefs, whose origin is, by some authors, attributed to the Lombards; but it appears that this mode of possession was already known in France, and the Lombards only subjected it to rules which other nations adopted after them. Autharis also published several salutary laws against theft, murder, adultery, and other crimes. He is said to be the first king of that nation who adopted christianity, and the greatest

part of his subjects followed his example, who, as they were instructed in it by arian bishops, were long infected with that heresy.

Autharis not only secured the tranquillity of his subjects by wholesome laws, but provided for their safety by removing the Franks from his frontiers by the rich presents he bestowed on them: nor did he use these means from pusillanimity, since when these people, in violation of their word, returned, he advanced against them, and drove them out. By the conquests he afterwards obtained in Italy, the Lombard possessions became involved with those of the empire, that is, with those of the exarchate; and Rome belonged to the latter power, or rather might be said to remain in an uncertain state between subjection and liberty, sometimes under the protection of kings, and at others of exarchs. It was the same with many of the duchies, who paid but a precarious obedience to the authority on which they were dependent. Hence arose continual wars between the exarchs and their dukes; the Lombard dukes and their kings; and these latter, and the exarchs. The dominion of the exarchs extended over the Bolognese, Romagna, the marshes or vallies of Ferrara and Comachio, the duchy of Urbino, and the provinces now composing the kingdom of Naples. Autharis was in possession of the remainder; and penetrating to the remotest extremity of Calabria, entered on horseback into the sea, and striking his lance into a post on the

shore—"This," said he, "shall be the boundary of the empire of the Lombards!" This post a long time remained, and was known by the name of the pillar of Autharis. This prince is blameable for a defective policy, in having suffered some of the dukes—that of Benevento in particular—to have arrogated an authority which became very troublesome to his successors. Perhaps it was not in his power to act otherwise. He died by poison in Pavia, his capital, after a reign of eight years, without either the authors or causes of the crime by which he suffered being discovered; unless it should be imagined that his power was become offensive to the nobility.

Theudelin
da, 590.

Autharis left no child, but a widow named Theudelinda, so highly esteemed, that the choice of a king was referred to her. She proved herself worthy the confidence of her nation, and Agilulf, duke of Tunis, and a near relation of the late monarch, was indebted for her crown and her hand to the universal acknowledgment of his merit. His reign proved long and happy, though the peace of it was often disturbed by intestine wars with his dukes: but he relieved his subjects from their greatest miseries, and secured them from foreign wars; whilst those of the exarchate were alternately attacked by the Franks and Huns, the latter of whom massacred vast numbers, and carried away captives their wives and children. At the persuasion of his queen he embraced the catholic religion: he caused his son

Adaluald, who succeeded him, to be acknowledged king during his life-time.

This prince governed with wisdom, till an envoy of the emperor Heraclius, abusing the trust reposed in him by Adaluald, administered him a beverage, which plunged him into a stupid melancholy. After this, the traitor engaged the unfortunate prince to put to death twelve of his nobility, on a pretended conspiracy formed against him. Alarmed by this massacre, the nobility assembled, and placed Ariovald, duke of Turin, on the throne, who had espoused Gundeberg, the sister of Adaluald. This election produced a civil war; which, Adaluald dying, was soon concluded. The queen Theudelinda, divided between her son-in-law and her own son, though more inclining to her unfortunate child, expired almost at the same time with grief.

The possession of the crown did not secure her daughter Gundeberg from a heavy mortification, the more heavy as it was undeserved. She had the misfortune to inspire Adalulf, one of the chief lords of the court, with a violent passion; who finding it to be neglected, and fearing least she should reveal his criminal passion to her husband, accused her of conspiring against his life, with an intent to bestow her hand and throne on Tato, duke of Etruria. Ariovald, in a transport of rage and jealousy, without entering into any examination, caused his innocent queen to be confined in a castle and treated with severity. Her misfortunes reached the ears of

Adaluald,
615.

Clothaire, king of the Franks, who reproached the Lombard monarch with giving credit to suspicions so injurious and cruel, on the testimony of a single person only. In uncertain cases, recourse was had to arms; and Ariovald ordered a combat to take place between Adalulf, and a champion chosen by the queen. The latter fortunately was victorious, and the princess was restored to all her rights.

Gundeberg
and Rotharis,
636.

The queen had either never lost the esteem of the nation, or the victory gained by her champion had wholly restored it her, as on the death of her husband, which happened soon after, the Lombards conferred on her the right they had allowed her mother Theudelinda, of taking a husband who should be their king. The choice of Gundeberg fell on Rotharis, an able man, but a zealous arian. Till his time, the Lombards had been guided by oral laws; but he composed for them those written ones, which some able civilians have preferred even to the Roman. The Lombard manner of arranging then must at least be allowed the preference. In the Roman code, the emperor was sole legislator; so that, properly speaking, the will of the prince was the law. But the Lombard kings did not arrogate to themselves that power: their resolutions had not the force of laws, till approved by the chief nobility, after having undergone an examination by a solemn assembly, convoked for the purpose. Rotharis did not believe that by introducing this form he should weaken the monarchic power. His at-

tachment to arianism was the cause of some disturbances in his kingdom, which was almost all catholic. Some also arose at Rome from the pretensions of the exarch; to whose yoke the ancient capital of the world, long accustomed to the sound of liberty, did not easily submit. Rotharis took no part in these disputes, nor in those between the exarchs and their dukes. One of the former had taken the title of king, expecting to be supported by the foldiers, but they murdered him. Both the Lombard and Roman dukes had wars between themselves, but which trenched not on the tranquillity of Rotharis; he left his kingdom to his son Rodoald. This young prince followed not the steps of his father. He had been associated in the throne with him four years; but he reigned but one alone, and was killed by a Lombard whose wife he had seduced. Of Aribert, whom the nation put in his place, history says nothing, excepting that he built a superb oratory at Pavia, and divided his kingdom between two of his sons. The eldest, Partharit, chose Milan for his residence, and Gundeibert fixed his abode at Pavia.

By this division, Grimoald, duke of Benevento, found himself stronger than either of his brothers, and united both treachery and cunning to gain possession of the whole kingdom. Gundeibert, discontented with his portion, though as the youngest son he had no right to expect so much, meditated the appropriating that of his elder brother, and im-

Partharit,
660.

parted his design to the duke of Benevento, whose assistance he required. Grimoald came to Pavia to Gundibert, to whom he had caused it to be insinuated that he intended to kill him. In consequence of the treacherous council given the young monarch, he put on a cuirass under his robe, and the duke, on embracing him, pretended to be astonished at finding him armed, and cried aloud, that the king doubtless intended his destruction; at the same moment he ran him through with his sword, and laid him dead at his feet. He then seized his palace with the treasures it contained, and was proclaimed king. A son of Gundibert was saved, being a child, and escaping the attention of Grimoald.

Partharit, on the news of this murder, abandoned Milan, where he left his wife Rodelinda, and his son Cunibert, an infant. Grimoald caused them to be removed, and guarded to Benevento; and demanded Partharit of the king of the Avars, with whom he had taken refuge. This unfortunate prince, when on the point of being delivered to him, took, in that extremity, the resolution of trusting to his generosity, and threw himself into the power of his rival. Grimoald, pleased with his confidence, or willing to appear so, received him with affection; but in proportion as the people shewed a regard for him, the favour of the usurper declined. Unulf, who had been employed by Partharit to gain this asylum for him, observed the change, and advised the prince to es-

cape. He found means to change dresses with the centinel placed constantly over him, and by help of this disguise got off, and passed into Gaul. Grimoald, though hurt by the successful artifice, praised the fidelity of Unulf, and far from shewing any resentment at it, gave him liberty to stay where he was, or follow the fortunes of his master.

Grimoald wore the crown more honourably than ^{663.} he had acquired it. He bestowed the duchy of Benevento on his son. This prince being attacked there by the emperor Constans in person, his father hastened to his assistance, and dispatched Gesuald, who had been tutor to him in his youth, to inform him of his approaching arrival. The messenger was taken, and did not conceal from the emperor the object of his mission: Constans required from him, under pain of the most cruel tortures, to give the besieged an entirely different account from the fort of their ramparts, where he allowed him to address them. He advanced accordingly, and as soon as he was within hearing, cried, with a loud voice: "Take courage, and banish all fear, for
" your father is at hand with a numerous army:
" this very night he will reach the banks of the
" Sangro. I recommend to you my beloved wife
" and children, for I am in the hands of a perfidious enemy, who is on the point of putting me
" to death." He prophesied but too truly, for the emperor, who ought to have admired his greatness of soul, ordered his head to be cut off, and

thrown by a machine into the town. He was punished for his barbarity by the total defeat of his army, and the loss of several towns, which the king of the Lombards took from him. Grimoald, in the peace which succeeded, reformed and augmented the code compiled by Rotharis. The catholic religion, which he embraced, became during his reign the prevailing religion of the Lombards, and remained so ever after.

672.

He wished to leave his throne to Garibald, his son, but Partharit returned from Gaul in time to secure it for himself. He found his wife Rodelinda alive, and Cunipert his son, whom he associated with him. After his decease, Alachis, duke of Brescia and Trent, who had revolted, and been pardoned in the life-time of Partharit, resumed the title of king, which he maintained at the head of an army against Cunipert; but he would not consent to a single combat proposed to him by the lawful monarch to avoid bloodshed. A battle ensued. A deacon of the church of Pavia, named Zeno, who extremely resembled Cunipert in shape and countenance, came to him before the battle, and entreated him to suffer him to wear his armour: "If I perish," said he, "the loss will not be considerable; but on your preservation depends that of the church and state." The king had some difficulty in accepting this generous offer, but at length yielded to the pressing entreaties of his most faithful subjects. All the efforts of the rebels were,

as was expected, directed against the imaginary monarch; Zeno was killed; and Cunipert gained the victory, which was succeeded by a happy reign.

As his son Luitbert was still young at the time of ⁷⁰³ his death, he placed him under the guardianship of Asprand, a man of distinguished birth and merit. Raguibert, duke of Turin, took advantage of the minority, to attempt raising himself to the sovereignty, and by a victory obtained over Asprand, he succeeded; but he died almost immediately after, leaving his pretensions and his forces to his son Aripert, who once more conquered Asprand, and made prisoner the young king, whom he caused to be stifled in a bath, and not having been able to take his guardian, he in revenge put out the eyes of his son, and cut off the nose and ears of his wife and daughter. Luitprand, whom providence reserved for great affairs, he spared from regard to his extreme youth, and sent him back to his father. The same providence provided Asprand with resources. He found means to raise an army of Lombards and foreigners, and gave battle to the usurper, who was drowned in the Tesino in his flight;—by this death probably escaping chastisement for the cruelties he had committed on an innocent woman and her children. It is observed of him that he governed with moderation and equity, and was very liberal to the churches, particularly to that of Rome, which he enriched with beautiful domains.

Asprand reigned but three months after his vic-

Luitprand,
711.

tory, and left his throne to Luitprand, his son;—a throne furrounded with dangers. The young prince escaped them by his prudence and valour, which latter quality he might be said to carry too far in the following instance. Being informed that two persons of his court had entered into a conspiracy against him, and waited only a favourable moment for the execution of their plot, he took them to walk with him in a thick wood, and presenting them a sword, reproached them with their perfidy, and said: “You may now fulfil your intentions, since you have me here alone.” These few words, his look, his gesture, and the impression made by his frankness and generosity, were such, that they both threw themselves at his feet, and became ever after the most faithful of his subjects. He with equal good fortune disconcerted other conspiracies against him. Luitprand was also one of the Lombard legislators. Under his reign commenced the temporal power of the popes, and he had a share in the circumstances which attended this event.

Power of
the Popes.

Rome, formerly the capital of the world, which two centuries before had been forsaken by Constantine, which had been repeatedly plundered, sacked, and burnt, still supported itself by its own greatness. It contained a bishop, and very rich clergy, a senate, and duke dependent on the exarchs, who were themselves dependent on the Constantinopolitan emperor. So distant an authority had frequently but little power

over the two first bodies—the clergy, and the senate—who were all dependent on the people. It was also impossible but that a people, still proud of their ancient majesty, should be more willingly governed by the counsel of their priests and the magistrates born within their walls than by strangers and foreigners, whilst inwardly they spurned the idea of any master—as well their own dukes and the Lombards, as the Greek emperors and their exarchs.

The emperor Leo, the Isaurian, having deter- 722.
mined to destroy the worship of images, ordered them to be broken throughout his empire. When this order arrived at Ravenna, it excited much disorder, of which Luitprand availed himself to attack that city, the capital of the exarchate. He took it, and the exarch fled to the Venetians, and soon returning with them, by their assistance re-entered his city. The emperor, unwarned by what had passed at Ravenna on the publication of his edict against images, ordered the exarch to carry it into execution at Rome. To secure his success he sent three officers to concert measures with the duke of Rome, who were to put pope Gregory under arrest, send him to the emperor, or kill him; and the exarch who had in charge to give his assistance to the attempt, levied troops on the occasion. Luitprand, though displeased with Gregory, who had contributed toward arming the Venetians, by which they had deprived him of his conquest of Ravenna, yet pro-

mised to assist the pontiff; and, under pretence of defending him, seized on all places belonging to the exarchate. The exarch was killed in Ravenna, yet the town still remained under Leo, who sent another exarch, with the same charge of freeing him from the pope, but the assassins were discovered.

729-

These attempts on the liberty and life of a man who enjoyed a general esteem, and which were accompanied by a design against their images, appeared in the light of a persecution to the Romans, and made them resolve on throwing off the yoke of the Greek emperors. Luitprand wished nothing more than to assist them, with a view, no doubt, of supplying the place of their former master. They rejected his interested offers of succour, and formed for themselves an independent government, composed of magistrates elected by themselves, of which the pope was merely the head or chief. The Lombard monarch was no better pleased than the exarch with this new arrangement; and they mutually united to subdue Rome, reserving the question of how it should be governed, till it was reduced. Luitprand, noble and generous, had given a recent and striking example of his clemency, in pardoning the rebellion of the duke of Spoleto, when he had seen him humbled at his feet. Gregory therefore, trusting to his character alone, left the city accompanied by some ecclesiastics and the principal men of Rome, and went directly to

the tent of this monarch, without other guard or precaution than their confidence in his generosity : here the pontiff addressed him in a manner so affecting, that the monarch threw himself at his feet in the sight of his whole army, and accompanied him back to the church of St. Peter ; where, on the tomb of the apostle, he deposited his belt, sword, gauntlet, his royal mantle, crown of gold, and silver cross, promising his assistance to the pontiff in future, and afterwards reconciled him and the exarch.

Gregory, who was equally on his guard against 741. the exarchs who still envied the liberty of Rome, and the Lombards who under the appearance of protection threatened to subject it, thought of procuring a defence against both by the intervention of Charles Martel, king of the Franks, then famous for his conquests. The pontiffs, therefore, sent to him a magnificent embassy ; the Romans offered to acknowledge him for their protector, and to confer on him the rank of consul, with which Clovis had been formerly invested. Charles engaged to be their defender, and to appear in Italy, if it were necessary, at the head of a powerful army. The ambassadors returned, laden with presents and professions of friendship. The first fruit of this alliance was the raising the siege which Luitprand had once more laid to Rome : yet he retired from it more through respect to pope Zachary, the successor of Gregory, than from fear of the

Franks, as the Lombard monarch greatly esteemed and respected this pontiff.

To his first favour of leaving Rome free, he added, in compliance with the entreaties of Zachary, the restitution of four principal cities of the Roman duchy, which he had taken. Luitprand died universally regretted by his subjects, who considered him as their father, leaving his kingdom to his grand-son Hildebrand, whom he had associated in the throne. On account of his youth, or for some other reason, the Lombards deposed him at the end of seven months, and elected in his stead, Rachis, duke of Friuli, distinguished for his piety and other eminent qualifications. He endeavoured to renew the pretensions of his predecessor on the Roman duchy : Zachary not only prevailed on him to give up this design, but such was the impression made on this prince by the discourse of the pontiff, that he renounced his royalty, and took the habit of St. Benedict, in the monastery of Monte Cassino, where he passed the remainder of his days :—an example, which his wife and daughter followed.

Astulphus,
751.

The Lombards raised his brother Astulphus to their throne ; and Stephen II. at the same time filled the see of Rome. Whether this pontiff possessed not the talents for persuasion which are ascribed to Zachary, or that the new king was not of a disposition to be affected by them like Luitprand and Rachis, the latter resisted the importunities of Stephen on an important occasion. The king of the Lombards

had taken Ravenna; after which he converted the exarchate into a duchy, and laid claim to all its dependencies—consequently to the Roman duchy, and Rome itself, which he summoned to acknowledge his authority. The pope in vain remonstrated that for many years past Rome had ceased to be subject to the exarchate; and that the emperor of the east had neither officers nor jurisdiction in it. Stephen employed unfortunately another means, which seemed to contradict this assertion:—he wrote to the emperor to send prompt succours to Italy, if he wished to preserve what authority he still retained over the exarchate and Rome. These steps did not put a stop to the attempts and contrivances of Aistulphus. The pope, harassed on all sides, wrote to Pepin, the successor of Charles Martel, whose answer being long in coming, he set out himself for France. Pepin, who had allowed himself no more time than was necessary for his preparations, poured into Italy, at the head of a numerous army, overthrew all before him, and reduced Aistulphus to shut himself up in Pavia, his capital. The French monarch did not raise the siege of this city till the king of the Lombards had engaged to restore the places belonging to the Roman duchy, with the exarchate and march of Ancona, and to restore them, not to the emperor of the east, but to the pope.

Aistulphus consented to these conditions; but the Franks were no sooner gone than he retook all he

had ceded; and approaching Rome, reduced it to great distress. He had flattered himself Pepin would not repass the Alps, but he proved mistaken. Pepin returned, and once more shut Astulphus up in his capital, and imposed on him the former conditions as conqueror of the Lombards, and therefore, by right of conquest, enabled to dispose of the exarchate, and other possessions which had yielded to his power. The king of France now took his measures with more certainty. His donation to Stephen was fully ascertained: he caused the act of it which was drawn up to be signed by the principal nobility of France; had it placed on the tomb of St. Peter; and preserved a duplicate in the archives of his own kingdom. Commissioners from him, accompanied by those of the king of Lombardy, were then sent to all the towns to make known the power of the Roman church, and the cession of Astulphus. This prince, it is believed, meditated to retrieve himself from this state of humiliation, when he was killed in a hunting party by a boar.

Astulphus leaving no child, Desiderius, or Didier, duke of Tuscany, was proclaimed king. Rachis shewed some intention of quitting his retirement to resume the throne; but the pope, on the solicitation of Didier, induced him to renounce his intention. Didier had some disagreement with Stephen III. successor to Stephen II.; on which the pope sent ambassadors to treat with him. The Lombard, regardless of the law of nations, caused their eyes to

be put out ; and not doubting but after such an action the pontiff would have recourse to the king of France, to deprive him of that resource, he married his two daughters to Charles and Carloman, between whom Pepin had divided his kingdom.

From these marriages, by which he expected to strengthen himself, arose his principal misfortunes. Charles, since called Charlemagne, repudiated his wife, who returned to her father's court. Carloman dying, left his wife Bertha with two sons, who not thinking herself secure in the court of her brother, retired also to Lombardy with her children. Didier, enraged at the affront offered his eldest daughter, and the disgrace of his second, endeavoured to procure from Adrian, the successor of Stephen, the consecration of his two grand-sons, as kings of that part of France which formerly belonged to their father Carloman. Beside the revenge he thus flattered himself with taking on Charlemagne, he hoped to embroil the affairs of that kingdom so much as to prevent the pope receiving any assistance from thence, whenever he, as he had resolved to do, should claim the exarchate, and Ravenna itself. But Adrian, as politic as himself, resisted his importunities, and conciliated Charlemagne ; so that when the designs of Didier became manifest by his seizing several towns which had been ceded by Pepin to the Holy See, and advancing to Rome, Adrian called in Charlemagne to his assistance.

Notwithstanding every endeavour of Didier to the contrary, this prince passed the Alps, and laid siege to Verona, in which city were Bertha and her children, whom he took, and sent into France, after which no more mention is made of them. Charlemagne, like his father Pepin, who shut Luitprand up within the walls of Pavia his capital, after a destructive battle, reduced Didier to the like extremity. During the siege, the French monarch went to Rome, where he made a solemn entrance, and confirmed the donation of his father Pepin, with every formality which could secure its irrefragable authenticity. It is even a doubt whether Charlemagne retained for himself any part of the sovereignty or jurisdiction of the city. But whatever was the right, it is certain it was never exercised by the successors of this monarch, excepting at those times when they found themselves the strongest. Charlemagne returned from the siege of Pavia, where a contagious disorder raged amongst the garrison and inhabitants, and daily carried off great numbers, both foldiers and citizens. The unfortunate Didier, overcome by accumulated miseries, was at last obliged to surrender himself with his wife and children; and Charlemagne sent them all to France, where they ended their days.

After this victory, Charlemagne was crowned king of Lombardy by the archbishop of Milan, and then returned to Rome, to regulate with Adrian the government of the states he had acquired. He

preserved the greatest part of the Lombard establishments, and allowed all the towns their choice of living under the Lombard or Roman laws. He appointed marquisses, or governors of the marshes, in concert with the dukes, by which the power of the latter was diminished and restrained, and imposed a very small tribute on his new subjects. Under this prince, there were four principal powers in Italy:—his own, under the name of the kingdom of Lombardy; that of the Venetians; the popes; and the emperors of the east.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME,

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